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THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS

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[Capitalized passages published in boldface in original]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress took place from February 25 through 6 March in Moscow in the Hall of Congresses.

The congress was opened by M.S. GORBACHEV, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He said:

Comrades delegates! AT THE UNION REPUBLIC COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESSES AND THE KRAY, OBLAST, AND PARTY CONFERENCES, 5,000 DELEGATES WERE ELECTED FOR THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS. OF THESE 4,993 HAVE COME TO THE CONGRESS AND 7 ARE ABSENT FOR VALID REASONS. THIS ALLOW US TO BEGIN THE WORK OF THE CONGRESS.

ON BEHALF OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE I DECLARE THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS OPEN.
[PROLONGED APPLAUSE]

COMRADES! WE HAVE TO FORM THE CONGRESS' GOVERNING BODIES; THE PRESIDUM, SECRETARIAT, AND THE DRAFTING AND CREDENTIALS COMMISSIONS.

PROPOSALS FOR THE COMPOSITION OF THESE BODIES WERE PREPARED AT A SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DELEGATES OF THE REPUBLIC, KRAY, AND OBLAST PARTY ORGANIZATIONS WHICH WAS HELD YESTERDAY IN THE KREMLIN. THESE PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN DISTRIBUTED TO THE CONGRESS DELEGATES AND ARE PUT FORWARD FOR YOUR EXAMINATION.

The delegates unanimously elected a Congress Presidium.

Leaders of delegations from communist, workers', and revolutionary democratic parties, who had come to the Congress at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, were also included in the Presidium.

A Congress Secretariat and Drafting and Credentials Commissions were also unanimously elected.

Ye.K. Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, gave a speech. He said:

Comrades! At the congress there are 152 delegations from communist, workers', revolutionary democratic, socialist, social democratic, labor and other parties, and representatives of democratic public organizations present. They have come from 113 countries from all parts of the world. You have a full list of them, comrades. Allow me, on behalf of the congress, to cordially thank those parties, organizations and movements which have honored us by sending their delegations to Moscow. This shows a respectful attitude to the CPSU and recognition of its international prestige. [PROLONGED APPLAUSE]

Taking part in the work of the congress are delegations of communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries. The strengthening interaction between our parties and states, and their internationalism have become a mighty force for world social development.

We wholeheartedly welcome the parties and the peoples who together with us are building a new society--a society free from exploitation and oppression--and are making a decisive contribution to the cause of universal peace and social progress. [APPLAUSE]

Present too in this hall are delegations from a number of ruling parties from countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia, which have chosen a path of social progress and national liberation. We express our solidarity with this major new international force, which comes out against imperialism and in favor of the democratization of political and economic relations in the world community. [APPLAUSE]

Delegations have come to our congress from communist and workers' parties from West Europe, the United States and Canada, the countries of Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and Africa. We are glad at the new meeting with our class-brothers, with the courageous strugglers for the ideals of communism and for the interests of the people of labor, and for peace, democracy, and freedom for all mankind. Our thoughts are with those who today languish in prisons and torture chambers, who are subjected to reprisals and persecutions for their progressive views. We are convinced that they will hear the voice of our congress, the voice of solidarity of Soviet Communists. [APPLAUSE]

Delegations have also arrived for the congress from revolutionary democratic and national democratic parties. We warmly welcome the representatives of the peoples, struggling against imperialism, colonialism and racism, and for the strengthening of political and economic independence. [APPLAUSE]

Present among the guests of the congress are envoys of the socialist, social democratic and labor parties; also represented here is the Socialist International. Allow us to express the assurance that our links and contacts will continue to develop in the interests of eliminating the military threat, advancing the cause of disarmament, strengthening the principle of peaceful coexistence between states regardless of their social structure.

We are glad of the presence at the congress of prominent political and public figures, the representatives of mass, influential democratic organizations.

On your behalf, comrades, and on behalf of all Communists of our country, allow me most cordially to greet the representatives of the forces of socialism, peace, democracy, national liberation and social progress. We wish you success and happiness. [PROLONGED APPLAUSE]

Comrades! In the time that has passed since the 26th Congress the lives of prominent soviet political and state figures have passed on: Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, Mikhail Andreyevich Suslov, Arvid Janovich Pelshe, Fedor Dmitriyevich Ustinov.

In this period the world communist and the workers' national liberation movement has lost such courageous fighters and internationalists as (Sugesuara Vikremasin), (Waldeck Rochet), (Ilie Pese), (Nicole Shau), (Ismail Belen), (Isu Vdedu), (Ustan Machado), Enrico Berlinguer, (Tamil Nisezadze). The life of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who made a great contribution to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for the peace and security of peoples, was cut tragically short.

We shall always keep in our hearts the names of friends and comrades-in-arms, whose lives were inextricably linked with the struggle for bright communist ideals, for the peace and happiness of people on earth. I ask you honor their memory with a minute of silence. [ALL STAND]

The delegates examined the agenda and standing orders for the work of the congress.

The following agenda for the 27th CPSU Congress was unanimously approved:

1. The Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the tasks of the party.
2. On the New Edition of the CPSU Program.
3. On Amendments to the CPSU Statutes.
The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress. The report was presented by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.
4. The Report of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission. The report was presented by Comrade G.F. Sizov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.
5. On the Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period through the Year 2000. The report was presented by Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.
6. Elections to the central bodies of the party.

A motion was passed not to make separate reports on the first three issues, but to set them forth in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the party congress.

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POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS.
REPORT BY COMRADE M.S. GORBACHEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL
COMMITTEE, 25 FEBRUARY 1986

WA121616 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 86 [signed to press 11 Mar 86]
pp 5-80

[Capitalized passages published in boldface in original]

[Text] Comrade delegates! Esteemed guests!

The 27th Congress of the CPSU has gathered at an abrupt turning point in the life of the country and the contemporary world as a whole. We are beginning our work with a deep understanding of our responsibility to the party and the Soviet people. It is our task to conceptualize broadly, in Lenin's style, the times we are living in, and to work out a realistic, thoroughly weighed program of action that will organically blend the grandeur of our aims with the realism of our capabilities, and the party's plans with the hopes and aspirations of every person. The resolutions of the 27th congress will determine both the character and the rate of our movement towards a qualitatively new condition of the Soviet socialist society for years and decades ahead.

The congress is to discuss and adopt a new edition of the CPSU Program, amendments to the party statutes, and guidelines for economic development in the next 5 years and the longer term. I need hardly mention what enormous importance these documents have for our party, our state, and our people. Not only do they contain an assessment of the past and a definition of the urgent tasks, but also a glimpse into the future. They speak of what the Soviet Union will be like as it enters the 21st century, of the image of socialism and its positions in the international arena, of the future of humanity.

Soviet society has come a long way in its development since the now operative party program was adopted. In substance, we have built the whole country anew, have made tremendous headway in the economic, cultural, and social fields, and have raised generations of builders of the new society. We have blazed the trail into outer space for humanity. We have secured strategic military parity and have thereby substantially restricted imperialism's aggressive plans and capabilities to start a nuclear war. The positions of

our motherland and of world socialism in the international arena have grown considerably stronger.

The path traveled by the country, its economic, social and cultural achievements, convincingly confirm the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and socialism's tremendous potential as embodied in the progress of Soviet society. We can be legitimately proud of everything that has been achieved in these years of intense labor and struggle. (APPLAUSE)

While duly commending the achievements, the leadership of the CPSU considers it to be its duty to tell the party and the people honestly and frankly about the deficiencies in our political and practical activities, the unfavorable tendencies in the economy and the social and spiritual sphere, and about the reasons for them. For a number of years the practical actions of party and state bodies tailed behind the needs of the times of life--not only because of objective factors, but also for reasons that are primarily subjective. The problems in the country's development built up more rapidly than they were being solved. The inertness and stiffness of the forms and methods of administration, the decline of dynamism in our work, and an escalation of bureaucracy--all this was doing no small damage. Signs of stagnation had begun to surface in the life of society.

The situation called for change, but a peculiar psychology--how to improve things without changing anything--took the upper hand in the central bodies and, for that matter, at the local level as well. But that cannot be done, comrades. Stop for an instant, as they say, and you fall behind a mile. We must not shrink from the problems that have arisen. That sort of attitude is much too costly to the country, the state and the party. So let us say it loud and clear!

The priority task is to overcome the negative factors in society's socioeconomic development as rapidly as possible, to impart to it the essential dynamism and acceleration, to draw to the maximum on the lessons of the past, so that the decisions we adopt for the future should be explicitly clear and responsible, and the concrete actions purposeful and effective.

The situation has come to a turning point not only in internal but also in EXTERNAL affairs. The changes in current world affairs are so deep-going and significant that they require reassessment and comprehensive analysis of all factors. The situation created by nuclear confrontation calls for new approaches, methods, and forms of relations between the different social systems, states and regions.

The arms race started by imperialism has resulted in the 20th century in world politics ending with the question of whether humanity will manage to elude the nuclear danger or if the policy of confrontation will take precedence, increasing the probability of nuclear conflict. The capitalist world has not abandoned the ideology and policy of hegemonism, its rulers have not yet lost the hope of taking social revenge, and continue to indulge themselves with illusions of superior strength. The sober view of what is going on is hewing its way forward with great difficulty through a dense thicket of prejudices and preconceptions in the thinking of the ruling class. But the complexity

and acuteness of this moment in history makes it increasingly vital to outlaw nuclear weapons, destroy them and other weapons of mass annihilation completely, and improve international relations.

THE DECISION TO ACCELERATE THE SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIETY adopted at the April (1985) Plenum is an expression of the party's profound awareness of the fundamentally new situation within the country in the world arena and of its responsibility for the motherland's future and is a manifestation of its will and determination to implement urgent transformations.

Formulating the long-term and fundamental tasks, the Central Committee has consistently taken guidance in Marxism-Leninism, the truly scientific theory of social development. It expresses the vital interests of the working people, and the ideals of social justice. It derives its vitality from its everlasting youthfulness, its constant capacity for development and creative generalization of the new facts and phenomena, and from its experience of revolutionary struggle and social transformations.

Any attempt at turning the theory by which we are guided into an assortment of ossified schemes and prescriptions valid everywhere and in all contingencies is most definitely contrary to the essence and spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin wrote back in 1917 that Marx and Engels had rightly ridiculed the "mere memorizing and repetition of 'formulas' that at best are capable only of marking out GENERAL tasks which are necessarily modifiable by the CONCRETE economic and political conditions of each particular PERIOD of the historical process." Those are the words, comrades, that each of us must ponder and act upon.

The CONCRETE economic and political situation we are in, and the particular PERIOD of the historical process that Soviet society and the whole world are going through, require that the party and all its members display their creativity, their capacity for innovation and skill to transcend the framework of habitual but already outdated notions.

A wide, frank, and constructive examination of all the crucial problems of our life and of party policy, has taken place during the discussion of the pregress documents. We have come to the congress enriched by the wisdom and experience of the whole party, the whole people. We can now see more clearly what has to be done and in what order, and what levers we must set in motion for our progress to acquire the necessary acceleration.

These days, many things--in fact everything--will depend on how effectively we succeed in using the advantages and possibilities of the socialist system, its economic power and social potential, in updating the obsolescent social patterns and the style and methods of work, in bringing them abreast of the changed conditions. That is the only way for us to increase the might of our country, to raise the material and spiritual life of the Soviet people to a qualitatively new level, and to enhance the constructive influence of socialism's example as a social system on world development.

We look to the future confidently because we are clearly aware of our tasks and the ways to carry them out. We look to the future confidently because we rely on the powerful support of the people. We look to the future confidently because we are acting in the interests of the socialist fatherland, in the name of the great ideals to which the Communist Party has dedicated itself wholeheartedly. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

I. The Contemporary World: Basic Tendencies and Contradictions

Comrades! The draft CPSU Program contains a thorough analysis of the main trends and features of the current development of the world. It is not the purpose of the program to anticipate the diversity of the concrete developments of the future. That would be a futile occupation. But here is another, no less accurate point: if we want to follow a correct, scientifically grounded policy, we must clearly understand the key tendencies of the current reality. To penetrate deep into the dialectic of the events, into their objective logic, to draw the right conclusions that reflect the motion of the times, is no simple thing, but is imperatively necessary.

In the days before the October Revolution, referring to the capitalist economy alone, V.I. Lenin noted that the sum-total of the changes in all their ramifications could not have been grasped even by seventy Marxes. But, Vladimir Ilich continued, "Marxism has discovered the LAWS and OBJECTIVE logic of these changes and of their historical development in its chief and basic features."

The modern world is complicated, diverse and dynamic, and shot through with contending tendencies and contradictions. It is a world of the most intricate alternatives, anxieties and hopes. Never before has our home on earth been exposed to such great political and physical stresses. Never before has man exacted so much tribute from nature, and never has he been so vulnerable to the forces he himself has created.

World developments confirm the fundamental Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the history of society is not a sum of fortuitous elements, that it is not a disorderly Brownian motion, but a law-governed onward process. Not only do its contradictions pass sentence on the old world, on everything that impedes the advance; they are also the source, the motive force behind the progress of society, progress that is taking place in the context of the struggle that is inevitable as long as exploitation and exploiting classes still exist.

The liberation revolutions triggered by the Great October Revolution are determining the image of the 20th century. However considerable the achievements of science and technology, and however great the influence on the life of society and of the rapid scientific and technological progress, nothing but the social and spiritual emancipation of man can make him truly free. And no matter what difficulties, objective and artificial, the old world may occasion, the course of history is irreversible. (APPLAUSE)

The social changes of the century are altering the conditions for the further development of society. New economic, political, scientific, technical, internal and international factors are beginning to operate. The

interconnection between states and between peoples is increasing. And all this is setting socially rigid, demands upon every state, whether in foreign policy, and social activity, or the spiritual image of society.

The progress of our time is rightly identified with socialism. WORLD SOCIALISM is a powerful international entity with a highly developed economy, substantial scientific resources, and a dependable political-military potential. It accounts for more than one-third of humanity, for dozens of countries and peoples opening up in every way the intellectual and moral wealth of man and society. A new way of life has taken shape based on the principles of socialist justice, with neither oppressors nor oppressed, neither exploiters nor exploited, where power belongs to the people. Its distinctive features are collectivism and comradely mutual assistance, triumph of the ideas of freedom, unbreakable unity between the rights and duties of every member of society, the dignity of the individual, and true humanism. Socialism is a realistic option open to all humanity, an example projected into the future. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Socialism sprang up and was built in countries that were far from economically and socially advanced at that time, differing greatly from one another in mode of life and their historical and national traditions. Each one of them advanced to the new social system along its own way, confirming Marx's prediction about the infinite variations and gradations of the same economic basis in its concrete manifestations.

The way was neither smooth nor simple. It was exceedingly difficult to raise backward or ruined economies, to teach millions of people to read and write, to provide them with a roof over their heads, with food and free medical aid. The very novelty of the social tasks, the ceaseless military, economic, political, and psychological pressure of imperialism, the need for tremendous efforts to ensure defense--all this could not fail to influence the course of events, their character, and the rate at which the socioeconomic programs and transformations were carried into effect. Nor were mistakes in politics, and various subjectivist deviations, avoided.

But such is life; it always takes the shape of diverse contradictions, sometimes quite unexpected ones. This other point is much more important: socialism has demonstrated its ability to resolve social problems on a fundamentally different basis than before, namely a collectivist one, has brought the countries to higher levels of development, and has given the working people a decent and secure life. (APPLAUSE)

Socialism is continuously improving social relations, multiplying its achievements purposefully, building up the impact and credibility of its example, and demonstrating the tangible humanism of the socialist lifestyle. By so doing, it is erecting an increasingly dependable barrier to the ideology and policy of war and militarism, reaction and violence, to all forms of misanthropy, and is actively furthering social progress. It has grown into a powerful moral and material power, and has shown what opportunities are arising for modern-day civilization. (APPLAUSE)

The course of social progress is tied in closely with ANTI-COLONIAL revolutions, national liberation movements, the renaissance of quite a few countries, and the emergence of dozens of new ones. Having won political independence, they are working hard to overcome backwardness, poverty, and sometimes desperate misery--the entire painful legacy of their slavish past. They, who were once rightless objects of imperialist policy, are now making history by themselves.

Social progress is expressed in the development of THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT and in the growth of the new massive democratic movement of our time, including the antiwar and anti-nuclear movement. It is also apparent in the stratification of the political forces of the capitalist world, notably the United States, the metropolitan center of imperialism. Here, progressive tendencies are forcing their way forward through a system of monopolistic totalitarianism, exposed to the continuous pressure of organized reactionary forces, including their enormous propaganda machine which loosens avalanches of stupefying misinformation upon people.

Marx compared progress in exploiting society to that "hideous pagan idol, who would not drink but from the skulls of the slain." "In our time," he wrote, "everything contains its opposite, so to speak. We see how machines which possess the wonderful power to lessen human labor and make it more fruitful bring people hunger and exhaustion. New, hitherto unknown sources of wealth are turned into sources of poverty through some strange and incomprehensible magic. The victories of artifice are bought, so to speak, at the cost of moral degradation. It seems that as mankind masters nature, man becomes the slave of other men or the slave of his own baseness. Even the pure light of science can apparently only shine against the dark background of ignorance. All our discoveries and all our progress seem to lead to a situation where material forces are endowed with intellectual life, while human life, deprived of its intellectual side, is reduced to the level of a mere material force."

Marx's analysis is staggering for its historical sweep, accuracy, and depth. It has, indeed, become still more relevant with reference to the bourgeois reality of the 20th century than it was in the 19th. On the one hand, the swift advance of science and technology has opened up unprecedented possibilities for mastering the forces of nature and improving humanity's conditions of life. On the other, the "enlightened" 20th century is going down in history marked by such imperialist outgrowths as the most bloody wars, an orgy of militarism and fascism, genocide, and the destitution of millions of people. Ignorance and obscurantism go hand in hand in the capitalist world with lofty achievements of science and culture. That is the society we are compelled to be neighbors of, looking for ways of cooperation and mutual understanding. Such is the command of history.

The progress of humanity is also directly connected with the SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION. It matured slowly and gradually, and then, in the final quarter of the century, gave the start to a gigantic accretion of man's material and spiritual resources. They were of two kinds. A qualitative leap was registered in humanity's productive forces. But there was also a qualitative leap in means of destruction, in military matters, endowing man

for the first time in history with the physical capacity for destroying all life on earth.

The facets and consequences of the scientific and technological revolution vary in the different socio-political systems. The capitalism of the 1980's, the capitalism of the age of electronics and computer science, computers and robots, is leaving more millions of people, including young and educated people, without jobs. Wealth and power are being increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few. Militarism is gorging itself on the arms race to an incredible degree, striving to gain control little by little, over the political levers of power. It is becoming the ugliest and the most dangerous monster of the 20th century. By its efforts, the most advanced scientific and technical ideas are being converted into weapons of mass destruction.

The scientific and technological revolution is setting before the developing countries a most acute question: Are they fated to enjoy the achievements of science and technology in full measure in order to gain strength for combatting neocolonialism and imperialist exploitation or will they simply remain on the periphery of world development? The scientific and technological revolution shows in bold relief that many socioeconomic problems impeding progress in that part of the world are unresolved.

Socialism has everything it needs to place modern-day science and technology at the service of the people. But it would be wrong to think that the scientific and technological revolution is creating no problems for socialist society. Experience shows that its advance involves improvement of social relations, a change of mentality, the forging of a new psychology, and the assertion of dynamism as a way of life and a rule of being. It calls insistently for continuous reassessment and renewal of the prevailing patterns of management. In other words, the scientific and technological revolution not only opens up prospects, but also sets higher demands on the entire organization of home and international affairs. Certainly, scientific and technological progress cannot abolish the laws of social development or the social purpose and content of such development. But it exercises a tremendous influence on all the processes that are going on in the world, on its contradictions.

It is quite obvious that the two socioeconomic systems differ substantially in their readiness and also in their capacity to conceptualize and resolve the arising problems.

Such is the world we are living in on the threshold of the 3d millennium. It is a world full of hope, because people have never before been so amply equipped for the further development of civilization. But it is also a world overloaded with dangers and contradictions, prompting the thought that this is perhaps the most alarming period in history.

The first and most important group of contradictions in terms of humanity's future is connected with THE RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES OF THE TWO SYSTEMS, THE TWO FORMATIONS. These contradictions have a long history. Since the

Great October Revolution in Russia and the split of the world on the social-class principle, fundamental distinctions have come to light in the assessment of current affairs and in the views concerning the world's social perspective.

Capitalism regarded the birth of socialism as an "error" of history which should be "rectified." It was to be rectified at any cost, by any means, irrespective of law and morality: by armed intervention, economic blockade, subversive activity, sanctions and punishments, or refusal of any and all cooperation. But nothing could interfere with the consolidation of the new system and its historical right to live.

The difficulty that the ruling classes of the capitalist world have in understanding the realities, the periodical recurrence of attempts at resolving by force the whole group of contradictions dividing the two worlds are, of course, anything but accidental. Imperialism is prompted by its intrinsic mainsprings and very socioeconomic essence to translate the competition of the two systems into the language of military confrontation. By dint of its social nature, imperialism ceaselessly generates aggressive, adventurist policy.

Here we can speak of a whole complex of impelling motives: the predatory appetites of the arms manufacturers and the influential military-bureaucratic groups, the selfish interest of the monopolies in sources of raw materials and sales markets, the bourgeoisie's fear of the ongoing changes, and, lastly, the attempts to resolve its own, worsening problems at socialism's expense.

The latter are especially typical of U.S. imperialism. It was nothing but imperial ideology and policy, the wish to create the most unfavorable external conditions for socialism and for the USSR that prompted the start of the race of nuclear and other arms after 1945, just when the crushing defeat of fascism and militarism was, it would seem, offering a realistic opportunity for building a world without wars, and a mechanism of international cooperation--the United Nations--had been created for this purpose. But imperialism's nature asserted itself that time again.

Today, too, the right wing of the U.S. monopolistic bourgeoisie regards the stoking up of international tensions as something that justifies military allocations, claims to global supremacy, interference in the affairs of other states, and an offensive against the interests and rights of the American working people. No small role seems to be played by the calculation of using tensions to exercise pressure on the allies, to make them completely obedient, to subordinate them to Washington's dictation.

The policy of total contention, of military confrontation, has no future. Flight into the past is no response to the challenges of the future. It is rather an act of despair which, however, does not make this posture any less dangerous. Washington's deeds will show when and to what extent it will understand this. We, for our part, are ready to do everything we can in order to radically improve the international situation. To achieve this, socialism need not renounce any of its principles or ideals. It has always stood for, and continues to stand for, the peaceful coexistence of states belonging to different social systems. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

As distinct from imperialism, which is trying to halt the course of history by force, to regain what it had in the past, socialism has never, of its own free will, related its future to any military solution of international problems. This was borne out at the very first major discussion that took place in our country after the victory of the Great October Revolution. During that discussion, as we may recall, the views of the "Left communists" and the Trotskyites, who championed the theory of "revolutionary war" which, they claimed, would carry socialism to other countries, were firmly rejected. This position, as Lenin emphasized in 1918, "would be completely at variance with Marxism, for Marxism has always been opposed to 'encouraging' revolutions, which developed with the growing acuteness of the class antagonisms that engender revolutions." Today, too, we are firmly convinced that encouraging revolutions from outside, and doubly so by military means, is futile and inadmissible.

The problems and crises experienced by the capitalist world arise within its own womb and are a natural result of the internal antagonistic contradictions of the old society. In this sense, capitalism negates itself as it develops. Unable to cope with the acute problems of the declining phase of capitalism's development, the ruling circles of the imperialist countries resort to means and methods that are obviously incapable of saving the society which history has doomed.

The myth of a Soviet or communist "threat" that is being circulated today, is meant to justify the arms race and the imperialist countries' own aggressiveness. But it is becoming increasingly clear that the path of war can yield no sensible solutions, either international or domestic. The clash and the struggle between the opposite approaches to the long-term prospects for world development have become especially complex in nature. Now that the world has huge nuclear stockpiles and the only thing experts argue about is how many times or dozens of times humanity can be destroyed, it is high time to begin a practical withdrawal from balancing on the brink of war, from an equilibrium of fear, to normal, civilized forms of relations between the states of the two systems.

In the years to come, the main struggle will evidently center on the actual content of the policy that can safeguard peace. It will be a complicated and many-sided struggle, because we are dealing with a society whose leading circles refuse to assess the realities of the world and its perspectives in sober terms, or to draw serious conclusions from their own experience and that of others. All this is an indication of the wear and tear suffered by its internal systems of immunity, of its social senility, which reduces the probability of far-reaching changes in the policy of the dominant forces and augments its degree of recklessness.

That is why it is not easy at all, in the current circumstances, to predict the future of the relations between the socialist and the capitalist countries, the USSR and the United States. The decisive factors here will be the correlation of forces on the world scene, the growth and activity of the peace potential, and its capability of effectively repulsing the threat of nuclear war. Much will depend, too, on the degree of realism that Western

ruling circles will show in assessing the situation. But it is unfortunate when not only the eyes but also the souls of politicians are blind. With nuclear war being totally unacceptable, peaceful coexistence rather than confrontation of the systems should be the rule in interstate relations.

The second group of contradictions consists of THE INTRINSIC CONTRADICTIONS OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD ITSELF. The past period has amply confirmed that THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM is growing deeper. The capitalism of today, whose exploitative nature has not changed, is in many ways different from what it was in the early and even in the middle 20th century. Under the influence and in the setting of the scientific and technological revolution, the conflict between the productive forces, which have grown to gigantic proportions, and the private-owner social relations, has become still more acute. Here there is growth of unemployment and deterioration of the entire set of social problems. Militarism, which has spread to all areas, is applied as the most promising means shoring up the economy. The crisis of political institutions, of the entire spiritual sphere, is growing. Reaction is exercising fierce pressure all along the line--in domestic and foreign policy, economy and culture, and the use of the achievements of human genius. The traditional forms of conservatism are giving place to authoritarian tendencies.

Special mention should be made of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, a most dangerous aspect of the crisis of capitalism. This concerns not only foreign policy. In the modern-day system of imperialism it is also a most important area of domestic policy, a means of putting pressure on all the advanced and progressive elements that live and fight in the capitalist countries in the non-socialist part of the world.

True, the present stage of the general crisis does not lead to any absolute stagnation of capitalism and does not rule out the possible growth of its economy and the mastery of new scientific and technical trends. It "allows for" sustaining concrete economic, military, political and other positions, and in some cases even for possible social revanchism, the regaining of what had been lost before. But lacking positive aims and guidelines that would express the interests of the working masses, capitalism now has to cope with the unprecedented interweaving and mutual strengthening of all groups of its contradictions. Never before in all the centuries of its development has it known so many social, and other, impasses.

Among the first to grow more acute are the contradictions BETWEEN LABOR AND CAPITAL. In the 1960's and 1970's, with the onset of a favorable economic situation, the working class, and the working people in general, managed to secure a certain improvement in their condition. But from the mid-seventies on, the proliferating economic crises and another technological restructuring of production changed the situation, and enabled capital to go on the counter-offensive, depriving the working people of a considerable part of their social gains. For a number of standard of living indicators, the working people were flung many years back. Unemployment has reached a postwar high. The condition of peasants and farmers is deteriorating visibly: some farms are going bankrupt, with their former owners joining the ranks of wage workers, while others become abjectly dependent on large agricultural monopolies and

banks. The social stratification is growing deeper and increasingly striking. In the United States, for example one percent of the wealthiest families own riches that exceed by nearly 50 percent the total wealth of 80 percent of all the American families, who make up the lower part of the property pyramid.

Imperialism's ruling circles are cannot fail to understand that such a situation is fraught with social explosions and political destabilization. But this is not making their policies more considered. On the contrary, the most irreconcilable reactionary groups of the ruling class have, by and large, taken the upper hand in recent years. The period is marked by an especially massive and brutal offensive of the monopolies on the rights of the working people.

The whole arsenal of means at capitalism's disposal is being put to use. Trade unions are persecuted and economically blackmailed. Anti-labor laws are being enacted. The left and all other progressives are being persecuted. Continuous control or, to be more precise, surveillance of people's state of mind and behavior has become standard. Deliberate cultivation of individualism, of the principle that might is right in the fight for survival, immorality, and hatred of all that is democratic--this is practiced on an unprecedented scale.

The future and the course of the working people's fight for their rights, for social progress, will show how the basic contradiction between labor and capital will develop and what will be the results of the prevailing situation. But mention must also be made of the serious danger to international relations from any further substantial shift to the right of policy, or of the entire internal situation in some capitalist countries. The consequences of such a development are hard to predict, and we must not underrate their danger.

The last decades of the century are marked by new outbreaks of INTER-IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS and the appearance of their new forms and tendencies. This group of capitalist contradictions has not been eliminated either by class affinity, the interest in uniting forces, by military, economic and political integration, or by the scientific and technological revolution. The latter has incontestably accelerated the process of the internationalization of capitalist production, has given added impetus both to the evening up of levels and to the spasmodic development of capitalist countries. The competition that has grown more acute under the impact of scientific and technological progress, is hitting those who have dropped behind still more mercilessly. The considerable complication of the conditions of capitalist reproduction, the diversity of crisis processes, and the intensification of international competition have made imperialist rivalry especially acute and bitter. The commercial and economic struggle in the world market is witnessing ever greater reliance on the power of "national" state-monopoly capitalisms, with the role of the bourgeois state becoming increasingly aggressive and egoistic.

THE TRANSNATIONAL MONOPOLY CAPITAL has gained strength rapidly. It is trampling on and monopolizing whole branches or spheres of production both on the scale of individual countries and in the world economy as a whole. By the

early eighties the transnational corporations accounted for more than one-third of the industrial production, more than one half of the foreign trade, and nearly 80 percent of the patents for new machinery and technology in the capitalist world.

The core of the transnational corporations consists of American firms. The complex of enterprises abroad that they have created uses an additional army of workers and office workers equalling half the number employed in manufacturing in the United States. At present, they produce something like 1.5 trillion dollars worth of goods and services a year, or nearly 40 percent of aggregate U.S. output.

The size of the "second economy" of the United States is double or triple that of the economies of such leading West European powers as the FRG, France, and Britain, and second only to that of Japan. Today, the biggest U.S. transnational companies are empires whose economic activity is comparable to the gross national product of entire countries.

A new knot of contradictions has appeared and is being swiftly tightened BETWEEN THE TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND THE NATION-STATE FORM OF SOCIETY'S POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. The transnational corporations are undermining the sovereignty both of developing and of developed capitalist countries. They make active use of state-monopoly regulation when it suits their interests, and come into harsh conflict with it when they see the slightest threat to their profits from the actions of bourgeois governments. But for all that, the U.S. transnational supermonopolies are, as a rule, active conductors of state hegemonism and the imperial ambitions of the country's ruling circles.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE THREE MAIN CENTRES OF PRESENT-DAY IMPERIALISM--the United States, Western Europe and Japan--abound in visible and concealed contradictions. The economic, financial, and technological superiority which the United States enjoyed over its closest competitors until the end of the sixties has been put to a serious test. Western Europe and Japan managed to outdo their American patron in some things, and are also challenging the United States in such a traditional sphere of U.S. hegemony as that of the latest technology.

Washington is continuously calling on its allies not to waste their gunpowder on internecine strife. But how are the three centers of modern-day imperialism to share one roof if the Americans themselves, manipulating the dollar and the interest rates, are not loath to fatten their economy at the expense of Western Europe and Japan? Wherever the three imperialist centers manage to coordinate their positions, this is more often than not the effect of American pressure or outright dictation, and works in the interests and aims above all of the United States. This, in turn, sharpens, rather than blunts, the contradictions.

It appears that people are beginning to wonder about this cause-and-effect relationships. For the first time, governments of some West European countries, the social democratic and liberal parties, and the public at large have begun to openly discuss whether present U.S. policy coincides with Western Europe's notions about its own security and whether the United States

is going too far in its claims to "leadership." The partners of the United States have had more than one occasion to see that someone else's spectacles cannot substitute for one's own eyes.

The clash of centrifugal and centripetal tendencies will, no doubt, continue as a result of changes in the correlation of forces within the imperialist system. Still, the existing complex of economic, political-military and other common interests of the three centers of power can hardly be expected to break up in the prevailing conditions of the present-day world. But within the framework of this complex, Washington should not expect unquestioning obedience to U.S. dictation on the part of its allies and competitors, and especially so to the detriment of their own interests.

The specificity of the inter-imperialist contradictions of the current period also encompasses a possible change of their configuration in the coming decades, with new capitalist "centers of power" coming on the scene. This will doubtless lead to a further growth of the bulk of contradictions, to their closer interweaving and aggravation.

A NEW, COMPLEX AND MOBILE SET OF CONTRADICTIONS HAS TAKEN SHAPE BETWEEN IMPERIALISM AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES. The liberation of former colonies and semi-colonies was a strong political and ideological blow to the capitalist system. It has ceased to exist in the shape that it had assumed in the 19th century and in which it extended into the first half of the 20th. A slow, arduous, but unstoppable process of socioeconomic transformation is under way in the life of nations comprising the majority of mankind. This process, which has brought about no few fundamental changes, has also encountered considerable difficulties.

By political maneuvering, promises and bribery, military threats and blackmail, and all too often by direct interference in the internal affairs of the newly free countries, capitalism has in many ways managed to sustain the earlier relationships of economic dependence. On this basis, imperialism managed to create and adjust the most refined system of neocolonialist exploitation, and to tighten its hold on a considerable number of newly free states.

The consequences of this are tragic. The developing countries with a population of more than two billion, have, in effect, become a region of wholesale poverty. In the early 1980's, the per capita income in the newly free countries was, on the whole, less than 10 percent that of the developed capitalist states, and in the past 30 years, far from shrinking, the gap has grown wider. Nor is it a question of just comparative poverty. There is illiteracy and misery, chronic undernourishment and hunger, appalling child mortality, and epidemics that afflict hundreds of millions of people.

This is a disgrace for civilized humanity! And its culprit is imperialism. Not only from the point of view of history, that is, of colonial plunder on entire continents which left behind a heritage of unbelievable backwardness, but equally in terms of present-day practices. In just the past 10 years, the profits squeezed out of the developing countries by U.S. corporations exceeded their inputs fourfold. And in Latin America and the Caribbean, in the same

period, the profits of U.S. monopolies were over eight times greater than their investments.

It is no exaggeration to say that, to a large extent, the imperialist system is still living off the plunder of the developing countries, off their totally merciless exploitation. The forms and methods are changing, but the essence remains. In the United States, for example, a very tangible portion of the national income comes from these very sources. The developing countries are being exploited by all the imperialist states, but, unquestionably, U.S. imperialism is doing it with the least consideration for them. Non-equivalent exchange, unequal trade, juggling and abuse of interest rates--the pumps of the transnational corporations are being used to one and the same end. They are adding still more to the poverty and misery of some, and to the wealth of others, and are increasing the polarization in the capitalist world economy.

The distressing condition of the developing countries is a major worldwide problem. This and nothing else is the true source of many of the conflicts in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Such is the truth, no matter how much the ruling circles of the imperialist powers may invoke the "hand of Moscow" in order to vindicate their neocolonialist policy and global ambitions.

Take the problem of debts. Together with the profits shipped out yearly from the developing countries, the accumulated debt means just one thing: the prospects for their development have shrunk, and a further deterioration of the already terrible social, economic, and other problems is inevitable.

In the existing circumstances, these countries will not, of course, be able to repay their debts. And if no fair solution is devised, the situation is fraught with grave socioeconomic and political consequences for international relations. It would be wrong to say that the imperialist ruling circles are blind to the underlying danger here. But all their concerns boil down to one thing--how to save the present system of enrichment through the exploitation and superexploitation of the peoples of the developing countries.

Another thing is certain as well: there is an irrefutable causal connection between the trillion-sized debt of these countries and the more than trillion-sized growth of U.S. military expenditures in the past 10 years. The 200-odd billion dollars that are being annually pumped out of the developing countries and the practically equal size of the U.S. military budget in recent years, are no coincidence. That is why militarism has a direct stake in maintaining and tightening the system of neocolonial superexploitation.

It is also obvious that with capitalism's contradictions growing sharper and its sphere of predominance shrinking, neocolonialism is becoming an increasingly important source of the resources that provide monopolistic capital with the ability for social maneuvering, reducing social tensions in the leading bourgeois states, and for bribing some sections of the working people. It is a truly extraordinary source, for a worker's hourly rate in the advanced capitalist states is higher, sometimes several times higher, than a day's earnings in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

All this cannot go on forever. But, of course, no miracle can be expected: the situation is not going to straighten itself out on its own. The military force that the United States is counting on to maintain the status quo, to safeguard the interests of the monopolies and the military-industrial complex, and to prevent any further progressive change in the newly free countries, can only complicate the situation and precipitate new conflicts. The bags of money are liable to become kegs of gunpowder. Sooner or later, in this area too, capitalism will have to choose between the policy of force and shameless plunder, on the one hand, and the opportunity for cooperation on an equitable basis, on the other. The solutions must be radical--in the interests of the peoples of the developing states. (APPLAUSE)

ANALYSIS OF YET ANOTHER GROUP OF CONTRADICTIONS--THOSE ON A GLOBAL SCALE, AFFECTING THE VERY FOUNDATIONS OF THE EXISTENCE OF CIVILIZATION, LEADS TO SERIOUS CONCLUSIONS. This refers first of all to pollution of the environment, the air and oceans, and to the exhaustion of natural resources. The problems are aggravated not only by excessive loads on the natural systems as a consequence of the scientific and technological revolution, and by the increasing extent of man's activity. Engels, in his time, foresaw the ill effects of exposing nature to the blind play of market forces. The need for effective international procedures and mechanisms that would make for the rational use of the world's resources as an asset belonging to all humanity is becoming increasingly apparent.

The global problems, affecting all humanity, cannot be resolved by the efforts of one state or a group of states. This calls for cooperation on a worldwide scale, for close and constructive joint action by the majority of countries. This cooperation must be based on completely equal rights and respect for the sovereignty of each. It must be based on conscientious compliance with accepted commitments and with the standards of international law. Such is the categorical call of the times in which we live.

Capitalism also causes an impoverishment of CULTURE, an erosion of the spiritual values created over the centuries. Nothing elevates man more than knowledge. But in probably no other period of history has mankind experienced any stronger pressure of falsehood and deceit than it does now. Bourgeois propaganda shovels ingeniously doctored information on people all over the world, imposing thoughts and feelings, and programming a civic and social attitude advantageous to the ruling forces. What knowledge, what values and moral standards are implicit in the information dispensed to the people and in the system of education is, first and foremost, a political problem.

Life itself brings up the question of safeguarding culture, of protecting it from bourgeois corruption and vandalization. That is one of the most important tasks of all humanity. We cannot afford to neglect the long-term psychological and moral consequences of imperialism's current practices in the cultural sphere. Its impoverishment under the onslaught of unbridled commercialization and the cult of force, the preaching of racism, the propaganda of lowly instincts, of the ways of the criminal world and the lower depths of society, must be, and certainly will be, rejected by mankind.

The problems, as you see, comrades, are many, and they are large-scale and intricate. But it is clear that their conceptualization is, on the whole, lagging behind the scope and depth of the current task. The imperative condition for success in resolving the topical issues of international life is to reduce the time of search for political accords and to secure the swiftest possible transition to constructive actions.

We are perfectly well aware that not everything by far is within our power and that much will depend on the West, on its leaders' ability to see things in sober perspective at important crossroads of history. The U.S. President said once that if our planet were threatened by a landing from another planet, the USSR and the United States would quickly find a common language. But isn't a nuclear disaster a more tangible danger than a landing of unknown extraterrestrials? Isn't the ecological threat great enough? Don't all countries have a common stake in finding a sensible and fair approach to the problems of the developing states and peoples?

Lastly, isn't all the experience accumulated by mankind enough to draw perfectly justified practical conclusions today rather than wait until some other crisis breaks out? What does the United States hope to win in the long term by producing doctrines that can no longer fit U.S. security into the modest dimensions of our planet?

Striving to keep in the saddle of history, imperialism is resorting to all possible means. But such a policy is costing the world dearly. The nations are compelled to pay an ever higher price for it. To pay both directly and indirectly. To pay with millions of human lives, with a depletion of national resources, with the diversion of gigantic sums on the arms race. With the failure to solve numerous, increasingly difficult problems. And in the long run, perhaps, with the highest price possible that can be imagined.

The U.S. ruling circles are clearly losing their realistic bearings in this far from simple period of history. Aggressive international behavior, increasing militarization of politics and thinking, contempt for the interests of others—all this is leading to an inevitable moral and political isolation of U.S. imperialism, widening the abyss between it and the rest of humanity. It is as though the opponents of peace in that country are unaware that when nuclear weapons are at the ready, the time and space for civilization lose their habitual outlines, and mankind becomes the captive of chance.

Will the ruling centres of the capitalist world manage to embark on the path of sober, constructive assessments of what is going on? The easiest thing is to say: maybe yes and maybe no. But history denies us the right to make such predictions. We cannot take "no" for an answer to the question: Will mankind survive or not? We say: The progress of society, the life of civilization, must and will continue. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

We say this not only by dint of the optimism that is inherent in Communists, by dint of our faith in people's intelligence and common sense. We are realists and are perfectly well aware that the two worlds are divided by very many things, and deeply divided, too. But we also see clearly that the need to resolve most vital problems affecting all humanity must prompt them to

interaction, awakening humanity's heretofore unseen powers of self-preservation. And here is the stimulus for solutions commensurate with the realities of our time.

The course of history, of social progress, requires ever more insistently that there should be CONSTRUCTIVE AND CREATIVE INTERACTION BETWEEN STATES AND PEOPLES ON THE SCALE OF THE ENTIRE WORLD. Not only does it so require, but it also creates the requisite political, social and material premises for it.

Such interaction is essential in order to prevent nuclear catastrophe, in order that civilization could survive. It is essential in order that other worldwide problems that are growing more acute should also be resolved jointly in the interests of all concerned. The realistic dialectics of present-day development consist in a combination of competition and confrontation between the two systems and in a growing tendency towards interdependence of the countries of the world community. This is precisely the way, through the struggle of opposites, through arduous effort, groping in the dark to some extent, as it were, that the contradictory but INTERDEPENDENT AND IN MANY WAYS INTEGRAL WORLD is taking shape.

Communists have always been aware of the intrinsic complexity and contradictoriness of the paths of social progress. But at the center of these processes--and this is the chief distinction of the communist world outlook--there unfailingly stands man, his interests and cares. Human life, the possibilities for its comprehensive development, as Lenin stressed, is of the greatest value; the interests of social development rank above all else. That is what the CPSU takes its bearing from in its practical activity. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

We proceed from the premise that the main direction of struggle in contemporary conditions is to create worthy, truly human material and spiritual conditions of life for all nations, to see to it that our planet should be habitable, and to deal with its riches rationally. Above all, to deal rationally with the chief value of all--with people and all their potentialities. That is exactly where we offer the capitalist system to compete with us in a setting of lasting peace. (APPLAUSE)

II. The Acceleration of the Country's Socioeconomic Development--A Strategic Course

Comrades! In putting forward its strategy for accelerating the social and economic development of the country at the April plenum, the CPSU Central Committee thereby made a decision of historic importance. It received the broad support of the party and of all the people, and is being put forward for examination by the congress.

What do we understand by acceleration? First and foremost, raising the economic growth rate. But not only that. Its essence lies in the new quality of growth: The all-around intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technical progress, a structural reshaping of the economy, and efficient forms of managing, organizing and stimulating labor.

The course toward acceleration does not amount only to a transformation in the economic field. It envisages the carrying out of an active social policy and a consistent assertion of the principle of socialist justice. The strategy of acceleration presupposes improving social relations, renewing forms and methods of work in political and ideological institutes, deepening socialist democracy, and decisively overcoming inertia, stagnation and conservatism--everything that holds back social progress.

The main thing which is to guarantee us success is the living creativity of the masses, and the maximum use of the huge possibilities and advantages of the socialist system. In a word, comrades, the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development holds the key to all our problems in the near and more distant future--economic and social, political and ideological, and internal and external ones.

Only in this way can and should a new qualitative state of Soviet society be attained.

A. The Results of Socioeconomic Development and the Need to Accelerate It

Comrades! The presentation and discussion of the tasks of the party's program for discussion at our Congress dictates the need for a large-scale approach to evaluating the results of the country's development.

In the quarter century following the adoption of the CPSU's third program the Soviet Union registered impressive successes. Basic production assets in the national economy increased sevenfold. Thousands of enterprises were built; new branches were created. National income almost quadrupled, while industrial output increased fivefold and agricultural output increased by a factor of 1.7.

Whereas before the war and in the early postwar years the economic level of the United States was difficult to match, in the 1970's we came substantially closer to it in terms of scientific-technical and economic potential and had exceeded it in the production of some of the most important types of output.

These achievements were the result of enormous efforts on the part of the people, which made it possible to enhance significantly the well-being of the Soviet people. Over a quarter of a century, the population's real per capita income increased by a factor of 2.6 and public consumption funds increased more than fivefold; 54 million apartments were built, which enabled the majority of families to improve their housing conditions; the transition to universal secondary education was accomplished; and the number of people graduating from higher educational institutions quadrupled. The successes of science, medicine and culture are generally recognized. The panorama of achievements would not be complete without mentioning the profound advances in the field of social and inter-nationality relations and in the further development of democracy.

At the same time, in the 1970's difficulties began to mount up in the national economy. Rates of economic growth diminished markedly. As a result, tasks for developing the economy posed in the PCU Program failed to be fulfilled,

even the lower targets of the 9th and 10th 5-Year Plans. It also proved impossible to fulfill completely the social program laid down for these years. Lagging behind was permitted to occur in the material base for science and education and for health care and cultural and everyday services for the population.

Of course, certain factors which do not depend on us have also affected the state of affairs. But they have not been decisive ones. The main thing is that we did not make timely political evaluations of the change in the economic situation. We did not recognize the entire criticality and urgency of the transfer of the economy to intensive methods of development and to the active utilization in the national economy of the achievements of scientific-technological progress. There have been many appeals and much talk about this. But matters have remained virtually at a standstill.

Through inertia, the economy has continued to develop on an extensive basis to a significant degree and has been oriented toward bringing into production additional labor and material resources. As a result, rates of growth for labor productivity and certain other efficiency indicators have fallen seriously. Attempts to set the matter right through new construction have aggravated the problem of balance. A national economy which possesses enormous resources has run up against a shortage of them. A gap has formed between public requirements and the production level which has been attained, between cash-backed demand and the material satisfaction of it.

Although efforts have recently been undertaken, it has not been possible to completely rectify the situation. Production of most types of industrial and agricultural output in the 11th 5-Year Plan did not reach the levels which were outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress. Serious lagging behind has been allowed in machine building, in the petroleum and coal industries, in electronical engineering, ferrous metallurgy, and chemicals, as well as in capital construction. Targets for the main indicators of efficiency growth and the improvement of the standard of living of the population have not been met.

From all of this, comrades, we should draw the most serious lessons.

THE FIRST of them can be described as the lesson of truth. A responsible analysis of the past clears the path to the future, while half-truths, shamefully avoiding sharp angles, slow down the working out of realistic policies and hinders our progress.

"Our strength," Vladimir Ilich Lenin used to say, "lies in stating the truth." (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) That is why the Central Committee considered it necessary in the new edition of the party program to once again speak of the negative processes which emerged in the seventies and the beginning of the eighties, and that is why we are also talking about them today at the congress.

ANOTHER LESSON concerns purposefulness and decisiveness in practical actions; the transfer to the intensive path is no simple matter for an economy as enormous as ours: it requires a great deal of effort, time, and the highest

sense of responsibility. But, having begun transformations, one must not confine oneself to half-measures. It is necessary to act consistently and energetically, not shrinking from the boldest steps.

AND STILL ANOTHER LESSON, and one might say the chief one: Success in any matter is to a decisive extent determined by how energetically and with what awareness the masses take part in it. A most important condition for accelerating our growth is convincing the broad strata of working people of the correctness of the chosen path, giving them a MORAL and material interest, and restructuring the psychology of the cadres. The greater the discipline and level of organization and the responsibility of each person for the work entrusted to him and for its results, the quicker the forward movement will be.

TODAY IT IS A PRIMARY TASK FOR THE PARTY AND FOR THE WHOLE PEOPLE TO PRODUCE A DECISIVE CHANGE FROM THE UNFAVORABLE TENDENCIES IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, TO GIVE THE ECONOMY THE NECESSARY DYNAMISM, AND TO OPEN UP THE SCOPE FOR INITIATIVE AND CREATIVITY BY THE MASSES AND FOR TRULY REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS.

There is no other path. Without accelerated economic growth, social programs will remain nothing but fond desires, although, comrades, they are urgent. Soviet people must perceive in a short timescale the results of common efforts toward a cardinal resolution to the food problem, the satisfaction of requirements for high quality goods and services, an improvement in medical services, housing, and everyday conditions, and the conservation of the environment.

Speeding up socioeconomic development will make it possible to make a weighty contribution to strengthening world socialism and will raise cooperation with the fraternal countries to a higher level. It will considerably expand our opportunities for economic links with peoples in developing countries and with states of the capitalist world. In other words, the practical implementation of a course toward acceleration will have far-reaching consequences for the fate of our native land. (APPLAUSE)

B. The Basic Guidelines of Economic Policy

Comrades! The draft CPSU Program and basic guidelines determine the main targets of economic and social development. By the end of the century the national income is to be nearly doubled, with a doubling of the production potential and its qualitative transformation. Labor productivity will rise by 2.3 to 2.5 times, the energy-intensiveness of national income will be reduced by a factor of 1.4, and metal intensiveness will nearly be halved. This will mean a steep turn toward production intensification and to raising quality and efficiency.

In the future, on the basis of intensifying these processes, a transition is envisaged toward an economy with a higher degree of organization and efficiency, with comprehensively developed forces of production, with mature socialist industrial relations, and a smoothly running economic mechanism. Such is our strategic line.

As stressed at the conference of the CPSU Central Committee in June (1985), the main means of realizing this is scientific-technical progress and the fundamental transformation of society's forces of production. It is impossible to achieve cardinal changes on the former materiel-technical basis. We see the way out in a profound reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of some of the most advanced achievements in science and technology, a breakthrough into leading directions of scientific-technical progress, and the reorganization of the economic mechanism and the system of management.

1. Implementing the Reconstruction of the National Economy on the Basis of Scientific and Technical Progress

The CPSU has immense experience in implementing very major scientific-technical and socioeconomic transformations. But however considerable these may be, our work in the past, in terms of its scale and complexity, cannot be compared with what must be done in the forthcoming period for the reconstruction of the national economy. What is needed for this?

FIRST AND FOREMOST, A CHANGE IN THE STRUCTURAL AND INVESTMENT POLICY. The essence of the changes lies in the focus of attention being transferred from quantitative indicators to quality and efficiency, from interim goals to end goals, from the expansion of production funds to their renewal, and from the building-up of fuel raw material resources to the improvement of their utilization, to the acceleration of development of science-intensive [naukoyemkiy] sectors and of the industrial and social infrastructure.

A major step in this direction is to be made in the present 5-year plan period. It is envisaged that over R200 billion more in capital investments will be channelled into the reconstruction and technical refurbishment of production capacities than in the preceding 10 years. That is no small amount. Nevertheless, planning and economic organs must continue with their search for extra opportunities for these purposes.

Major comprehensive programs have been elaborated as regards strategic directions. The implementation of these has begun. Branches which determine scientific and technical progress will develop more dynamically, as will those which provide a swift economic return and a solution to urgent social problems. Considerable financial, material, scientific, and labor resources are being concentrated on the accelerated development of these branches.

It is clear that the effectiveness of reconstruction and the rate of economic growth depend to a decisive degree on MACHINE BUILDING. That, indeed, is where fundamental scientific and technical ideas materialize and where new labor tools and machinery systems determining progress in other branches of the national economy are created. That is where the foundations are laid for a broad scale emergence into resource-saving technologies which are new in principle and for raising labor productivity and the quality of output.

Congress delegates know that the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted a decision on further developing machine building. In essence, that is a general state program for the modernization

of one of the most important sectors of industry. A single organ for managing it has been set up. The task that has been set the machine-building complex is, by the end of the 12th 5-Year Plan to sharply raise the technical and economic level and quality of machinery, equipment, and instruments and 1.8 times more capital investment than in the preceding 5 years is being allocated for the renovation of this branch of industry.

What, specifically, do we expect from the implementation of this program? There will be an increase greater than 40 percent in the output of machinery and equipment, and their qualitative characteristics will improve. The increasing flow of new generation equipment will create conditions for radical reequipping of the national economy and for growth in its efficiency. As a result, we will be able to save the labor of around 12 million people and over 100 million metric tons of fuel calculated over a 1 year period, and gain an effect worth many thousands of millions of rubles. The use of the DON-1500 combine harvester alone, as calculations show, will make it possible to significantly reduce the stock of grain-harvesting machines, to disengage about 400,000 machine operators, and reduce the losses of grain by millions of metric tons.

The wide electronization and the integrated automation of production will have a huge influence on the rates of technical reconstruction. Concrete tasks have been determined for the development and mass assimilation of modern computer technology and the development of the component base. The programmed provision of computer programs and automated control systems is being put on an industrial basis. In the USSR Academy of Sciences a department for information science and computer technology has been created, joining together the institutes and design offices which are entrusted with the scientific provision of work in this field.

The idea of the radical reconstruction of the fuel and energy complex permeates the Energy Program. In this, special stress is laid on the use of energy-saving technologies, the replacement of liquid fuel by gas and coal fuel, and the more intensive processing of oil. The adoption of advanced technologies is planned in the extracting industry as well: the open-cast method and the hydraulic method in coal extraction, the raising of the standard and reliability of oil equipment, and the universal introduction of automated systems. In the present 5-year plan 2 and 1/2 times as many capacities will be brought in at nuclear power stations as in the last 5-year plan. Also, the mass replacement of obsolete units at thermal power stations will be carried out.

Much has to be done in metallurgy and in the chemical industry, in reequipping them with more productive equipment. The production of fundamentally new and improved structural and other advanced materials will speed up the development of electronics, machine-building, construction, and other branches of the national economy.

The party places great significance on the technical reequipping of the production infrastructure, primarily of transportation and communications. Light industry and other sectors of industry which work directly in satisfying the population's needs will receive priority development. Specialized and

other sectors of industry will be brought into the production of progressive equipment for them.

We will not be able to realize technical reconstruction without a radical improvement in capital construction. This demands that the whole construction complex must be raised to a new, industrial, and organizational level, and that the investment cycle must be reduced by a minimum of 50 percent both in the reconstruction of enterprises and in the construction of new facilities. One should no longer be reconciled to low rates of construction, as a result of which huge resources are being frozen and scientific and technical progress in the national economy is being slowed down.

All these tasks are gigantic in volume and in significance. In the final analysis, their solution will determine the fate of the fulfillment of plans, and the rates of our growth. Every branch, every enterprise should have a precise program of continuous renovation of production. It follows that the responsibility of planning and economic organs for carrying out what has been mapped out increases substantially. It is to this end that the activity of the party organizations should also be directed.

It is particularly important not to tolerate what is done for show [pokazukha], the substitution of palliative solutions for the essence of the matter. The many instances of ministries and departments, under the flag of reconstruction, building new installations, filling them with obsolete equipment, drawing up expensive plans which do not ensure that production reaches the highest technical and economic indices, put one on one's guard.

Here is evidence of this approach. Reequipping is now being carried out at the Bryansk machine-building works, which produces engines for diesel locomotives. It is planned to spend about R140 million on this; half of this has already been assimilated. What effect will the renovation of capacities have? It turns out that the use of progressive technologies has not been provided for. The number of workers has already increased by almost 1,000. Return on capital has fallen, and the main thing is that it is planned to produce an obsolete engine using the new capacities, although a more efficient model has been developed and undergone testing.

How can one understand the position of the managers of Mintyazhmash [Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building] and MPS [Ministry of Railways]? Evidently certain comrades did not understand the depth and importance of the tasks facing them. Such examples deserve the most severe condemnation as undermining the party's policy of reconstruction and speeding up scientific-technical progress. Such phenomena must be treated with all severity.

The need for reconstruction puts new tasks before SCIENCE. The CPSU will consistently pursue the line of strengthening in every way its material and technological basis and create the conditions for scientists' fruitful activity. But the country has a right to expect from them discoveries and inventions which ensure genuinely revolutionary changes in the development of technical equipment and technology.

Important measures have recently been mapped out for increasing the efficiency of the work of scientific research establishments. They concern questions of providing incentives for scientists' work, of new forms of interaction between science and production. A decision was adopted recently on the creation of intersectorial scientific-technical complexes, which include powerful parent [golovnyye] institutes, including academic institutes, planning and design organizations, and experimental industrial production plants.

Measures are also being taken for making the work of scientific research institutes of individual branches of industries more active, for increasing their contribution to the acceleration of the scientific and technical progress. This process, however, is proceeding at an inadmissably slow rate. Many institutes remain an extension of the ministerial apparatus, by acting quite often as advocates of departmental interests, and are bogged down in routine and paperwork. The June conference raised acutely the issue of bringing science and practical experience closer to each other and of including sectorial institutes in the production and science-production associations.

We have got to find out who is opposing it, what the position of the ministries here and their party committees is like, and how they respond to the demands of life. The scientific potential of higher education establishments should also be used more efficiently. More than 35 percent of the countries' scientific and pedagogical workers of the country, including about half of all doctors of sciences, are concentrated here. But they conduct no more than only 10 percent of the scientific research work. The appropriate departments should elaborate and submit proposals on strengthening the ties between science in the higher education system and production. They should also take into account the interests of training the next generation of scientists. One cannot think of a true scientist having no students, as one cannot think of a living forest lacking undergrowth. What is involved is the future of science--the future of our country. From the first years of their studies, students should be increasingly involved in research work and participate in implementing its results into production. This is the only way to raise true scientists, specialists endowed with creative thinking.

In general, comrades, the turn of science toward the needs of the national economy should be conducted in a more energetic way. But it is equally important for production to turn toward science and to be maximally receptive to scientific and technical achievements. Unfortunately, there are quite a number of scientific discoveries and major inventions which do not find their practical application for years, sometimes for decades. I will refer to some examples:

The effect of limitless wear-resistance, discovered by Soviet scientists 3 decades ago, made it possible to create principally new lubricants which increase the operational life of friction units of machinery many times, and sharply decrease labor costs. This discovery, saving many millions has not so far been used on a wide scale because of the inertia of some leaders of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry and a number of other ministries and departments.

For about 10 years, through the fault of the Ministry of the Automotive Industry and the planning organs, the invention of antifriction bearings which improve the reliability and smooth running of machinery in the most difficult conditions of use, has not been put to mass use. The Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry allowed intolerable delays in the production of high-momentum hydraulic motors which have no equal in the world. These motors make it possible to introduce on a broad scale hydraulic mining equipment and other equipment to bring about an increase of several times in productivity, and to improve labor conditions.

Unfortunately, this list could be continued. Often what lies at the basis of such an attitude to the new are the ambitions of individual groups of scientists, departmental hostility toward the inventions of "others," and lack of interest on the part of production people in their introduction. It is no secret either that even the examination of orders for inventions is sometimes dragged out for years and transformed into a road to calvary.

We cannot resolve the tasks which have been set for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress if we fail to find the levers which will give priority only to those research establishments and industrial enterprises whose collectives actively inculcate all that is new and front-ranking, and who seek ways to produce high-quality and effective items.

We have already accumulated a certain amount of experience in improving the economic mechanisms in the sphere of science and its interaction with production. It must be carefully analyzed and introduced without delay, closely coordinating material incentives of scientific collectives and individual workers with their real contribution to resolving scientific and technical problems.

All areas of economic management are called upon to change their attitude to the introduction of the new. That also concerns the USSR Gosplan, which should be bolder in going over to start-to-finish planning [skvoznoye planirovaniye] of scientific and technical progress and also the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology the restructuring of whose work is proceeding too slowly. The USSR Academy of Sciences and ministries and departments should pay more attention to fundamental research and to the introduction into production of results achieved on this basis. This is the sacred duty of each scientist, engineer, designer, and enterprise manager.

Our EXTERNAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY must also be more closely linked to new tasks. The approach to mutually beneficial economic ties must be large-scale and forward-looking. Such a policy has been drawn up by the CEMA member-countries. It presupposes a transition in the economic relations between them from mainly trade links to deeper specialization and cooperation in production, especially in machine building, and to the setting up of joint associations and scientific production complexes.

We have quite a lot of departments and organizations responsible for one sphere or another of external economic ties, but they do not always work in a coordinated way. When proposing the task of actively using external economic activity to speed up our development, we mean effecting, step by step, a

reshaping of the structure of foreign trade and giving a more efficient character to exporting and importing.

2. The Resolution of the Food Problem Is a Paramount Task

Comrades! A task that we have to accomplish in the shortest possible time is the complete provision of food to the country. The party's modern agrarian policy, formulated in the decisions of the May 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Food Program, is directed to this end. Since their adoption, quite a lot has been done to develop the material and technical base of agriculture and the branches connected with it. The economic position of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and of interfarm and processing enterprises has grown stronger. The productivity of crop and stock farming has risen.

There is forward movement, but the lagging behind of agriculture is only being overcome slowly. A decisive breakthrough is needed in the agrarian sector so as to noticeably improve the food supply during the period of the 12th 5-Year Plan. It is planned to more than double the rate of growth of agricultural production and to ensure a considerable increase in the per capita consumption of meat, milk, vegetables, and fruit.

Can we achieve this? We can, and we are obliged to do so. For this purpose, the party has devised additional measures directed toward raising the efficiency of all sectors of the agro-industrial complex. The heart of the matter is to change the social and economic situation in the countryside, and to create the conditions for deeper intensification and for guaranteed production. Special emphasis is being laid on economic methods of management and on broadening the independence and raising the responsibility of kolkhozes and sovkhoses for the results of their activities.

In pursuing this policy, efficiency in the use of production potential in the agro-industrial complex is to be raised; energy and resources are to be concentrated on the major sectors which secure the greatest return. It is a matter of primarily raising the fertility of the soil, creating conditions for the stable administration of agriculture. The key to success, as shown by the experience of recent years, lies in the wide-scale use of intensive technologies. They have a huge effect. Just last year, their assimilation allowed an additional 16 million metric tons and a considerable amount of other output to be obtained.

An immediate source for supplementing food stocks is reducing losses of field and farm output during harvesting, transportation, storage, and processing. We have a sizable reserve here. The increase in consumption resources could amount to up to 20 percent, and for certain types of output, up to 30 percent; and the outlays on removing losses would be 2 to 3 times less than those that would have to be made for the additional production of the same volume of output.

The Central Committee and the government have now determined major measures for reducing losses. Agricultural machine building is undergoing rapid development, which will allow kolkhozes and sovkhoses to be sated with highly productive equipment capable of carrying out all field work more efficiently.

We have also committed ourselves to additional outlays to strengthen machine building for the foodstuffs sector and the base for processing and storing output.

The party and the state will continue to develop consistently the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex. But it is also just as clear that the main motive force of progress, its soul, has been, is, and will remain man. Today as never before, agriculture needs people with an interest in working actively, with high professional skill and with an innovative bent. The strongest guarantee of all our successes is constant concern for the agricultural workers' everyday working conditions. Our plans are aimed at this, and it is important that they should be fulfilled rigorously.

All of these are urgent measures, but the program of action is not exhausted by them. In the agrarian sector, completion of transfer to new methods of administration and management remains to be done. The creation of centralized and local unified administration organs for the agro-industrial complex, which is intended to ensure the real and effective integration of agriculture with the branches of industry linked to it, was undoubtedly a principled step.

The creation of this organizational structure is being reinforced by efficient management machinery. Proposals on this score have already been prepared. The basic plan comes down to opening up the scope for economic management methods, significantly extending the independence of collective and state farms, thereby raising their level of interest and responsibility for the final results. In essence, it is a matter of the creative use of the Leninist idea of a tax in kind in conformity with contemporary conditions.

It is intended to establish 5-year plans for collective and state farms for the procurement of produce with fixed annual quotas that will not be altered. At the same time, they are being granted the possibility of using, according to their own discretion, everything which has been obtained over the plan, and also a significant part of the planned production in potatoes, fruit and vegetables. The farms can sell it as extra to the state, or sell it in fresh or processed form at the collective farm market or through cooperative trade, or use it for other needs including personal subsidiary plots. The above-plan sale of grain to the state is being stimulated by the additional allocation of material resources which are in high demand and by other incentive measures.

Republics, krais, and oblasts will in the future be set fixed amounts of produce to supply to the central stocks, and everything which is produced above this amount will be kept for local supply.

It is proposed to implement a transfer of improved planning methods on the basis of progressive norms. The role of financial autonomy will be raised significantly. The experience of the past has shown that ignoring the principles of self-financing [samookupayemost] and infringing on the material interest and responsibility for work results has worsened the financial-economic position of collective and state farms and has led to a significant degree of farm indebtedness. Genuine financial autonomy and the dependence of an enterprise's income on its final results must become the norm for all links in the agro-industrial complex and, first and foremost, for kolkhozes and

sovkhozes. The contract and the piece-work system will be widely disseminated at the level to teams, links, and families; means of production, including land, will be allocated to them for the period of the contract.

Great opportunities for initiative and enterprise are being opened up but, this presupposes also the responsibility for the fulfillment of the targets of the Food Program and for the results of the financial and economic activity of sovkhozes and kolkhozes, interfarm enterprises, and organizations. We need to put up a reliable barrier against waste and operating at other peoples' expense and to put an end to the references to so-called "objective circumstances," which for certain kolkhozes and sovkhozes have become a cover for incompetence and occasionally the lack of will to work better. Farms must develop production, increase profits and revenue, and provide work incentives largely by relying on our own resources. (APPLAUSE) The practice of bank credit must be substantially altered so that it provides incentives to raising the level of activity of kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

As you see, comrades, the conditions underlying economic activity in the countryside are changing radically. This demands a substantial change in the style and methods of leadership in the agro-industrial complex. We must renounce incompetent interference in productive activity in the rural sector. We are entitled to expect the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and its local bodies to do everything possible to see that the country receives a substantial return on the measures undertaken. (APPLAUSE)

3. The Management of the Economy Must Be Raised to the Level of the New Demands

Comrades! The resolution of new tasks in the economy is impossible without a profound transformation of the economic mechanism and the creation of an integrated, efficient, and flexible system of management that enables the potential of socialism to be more fully realized.

Economic management, and this is obvious, needs constant improvement. The situation is now such that we cannot limit ourselves to partial improvements. Radical reform is necessary. Its purpose is to subordinate all our production to social demands and to satisfy people's needs, to encourage management to raise efficiency and quality, speed up scientific and technical progress, develop workers' interest in the results of their work and create initiatives of a socialist sense of enterprise in each unit of the national economy and primarily in labor collectives.

The CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo have drafted the Basic Guidelines for transforming the economic mechanism. We are setting the task:

Of raising the effectiveness of the centralized leadership of the economy, strengthening the role of the center in achieving the basic aims of the economic strategy of the party, and in defining the tempo and proportions of development in the economy and its balanced nature. At the same time, the practice of interference by the center in the operational activity of subordinate economic units must be overcome;

Of decisively extending the frontiers of the autonomy of associations and enterprises and raising their responsibility for the achievement of the highest final results: to this end, transferring them onto genuine cost autonomy [khozrasshchet], paying their own way [samookupayemost], and self-financing, placing the level of the collective's income in direct dependence on its work efficiency;

Of going over to economic methods of management at all levels of the national economy, and consequently, restructuring material and technical supply, improving the system of price setting, financing and credit, working out effective measures to encourage cost-cutting;

Of giving management modern organizational structures taking account of the tendency toward concentration and specialization in production and toward coproduction. It is a matter of the creation of complexes of interlinked branches, scientific, and technical inter-sectorial centers, varied forms of economic associations [khozyastvennyye obyedineniya] and territorial-production associations;

Of ensuring the optimal combination of sectorial and territorial management of the economy, the comprehensive economic and social development of republics and regions, and the establishment of rational inter-sectorial links;

Of implementing the comprehensive democratization of management, raising the role of the workers' collectives in it, strengthening monitoring [kontrol] from below; accountability and public scrutiny [glasnost] in the work of the economic organs.

Undoubtedly, comrades, we are facing the most serious restructuring of the socialist economic mechanism. Its implementation has begun. The direction of work in the agro-industrial complex has already been mentioned. The management of the machine-building complex is being improved. Industry's enterprises are in the main being transferred onto a dual system of management [dvukhzvernaya sistema upravleniya]. New management methods tested experimentally have from this year on become part of the life of enterprises and associations producing half of all industrial output. Their introduction into the sphere of consumer services in construction and transportation has begun. The collective form of organizing and stimulating labor--the economic contract [khozyaystvennyy podryad]--is acquiring ever wider use.

However, we are only at the start of the journey. In order to restructure the economic mechanism under the conditions of our country with its immense, complex economy requires time and energy. There may be difficulties; we cannot guarantee that mistakes will not be made, but the main thing now is to advance purposefully, step-by-step, along the direction we have chosen, augmenting and improving the economic mechanism on the basis of accumulated experience, throwing out everything which is outmoded or which has not justified itself. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Success will in many ways depend on THE REORGANIZATION OF THE WORK OF CENTRAL ECONOMIC BODIES, PRIMARILY THE USSR GOSPLAN. It is called on to become the truly scientific-economic headquarters of the country, freed from routine

economic questions. We have already begun this work. New bodies for the running of inter-industry complexes are being created. A basic part of their functions--operational management--is being delegated directly to enterprises and associations. Gosplan and other economic departments must concentrate on long-term questions of planning, ensuring the well-proportioned and balanced development of the economy, the carrying out of a structural policy and the creation of economic conditions and incentives in order to achieve the highest possible final results in each and every cell of the national economy. Statistical matters are also in need of serious improvement.

Recently there has been a lessening of the FINANCE-AND-CREDIT EFFECT ON THE ECONOMY. The financial system does not have sufficient influence on raising the effectiveness of the economy. The bad practice of income redistribution, where the losses sustained by backward enterprises, ministries, and regions are covered by those which are making a profit, has assumed a large scale. This impairs cost-accounting, gives rise to living at other's expense, and leads to endless demands for help from the center. Credit has lost its true purpose.

"All our radical reforms are doomed to failure," noted Lenin, "if we are not successful in our financial policy." Proceeding from this we should fundamentally change the content, organization, and methods of work of the financial and credit bodies. Their major task is not the petty regulation of enterprises' activities, but economic stimulation, and the strengthening of the money circulation and cost-accounting, which is itself the best controller. Everything must be made dependent on the final result. It is obvious that the question of improving the practice of imposing tax on turnover and of payments from profits and other budget revenues, must now be tackled. Their size and payment arrangements should more actively influence the reduction of production costs, the raising of output quality and the acceleration of its marketing.

PRICES are to become an active tool of economic and social policy. A planned restructuring of prices as a unified whole is to be carried out in the interests of setting up effective cost-accounting and in accordance with the tasks of increasing the population's real income. Prices must be made more flexible; their level must be coordinated not only with outlay but also with the consumer qualities of the goods, the efficiency of the item and the degree of balance between the goods being produced on the one hand, and social requirements and demand among the population on the other hand. It is planned to make broader use of limit and contract prices.

The system of MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL SUPPLY is in need of serious improvement. It should be transformed into a flexible economic mechanism helping the national economy to operate rhythmically and steadily. It is an important task of Gosplan to actively facilitate the establishment of direct and long-term links between producers and consumers on a contractual basis and the strengthening of deliveries discipline. Wholesale trade in the means of production should be developed.

In the final analysis, everything we are doing to improve management and planning and to change the organizational structure, is aimed toward creating

the conditions for EFFICIENT WORK BY THE BASIC LINK IN THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM--THE ASSOCIATION, AND THE ENTERPRISE.

Analysis shows that the results of the experiments which are being conducted could be considerably better if, on the one hand, they were assisted by the restructuring of the work of sectorial ministries and central economic departments which, as before, are not abandoning their attempts to restrict enterprises' rights, and on the other, if incentives to the growth in efficiency were brought to every sector, team and workplace. Special attention should be paid to this.

It is finally time to put an end to the practice of the petty tutelage of enterprises on the part of ministries and departments. In their activities, the ministries should concentrate their attention on issues of technological policy, of balance within industries, and of satisfying the requirements of the national economy for high-quality output from their industries. Enterprises and organizations should be given the right to independently market above-plan output, unused raw and manufactured materials, equipment, and so on. Something similar should be made legitimate in the relationship with the population. Is it really sensible to destroy or scrap what could be useful in the household, in construction of housing, garages, or garden sheds?

It would be difficult to overestimate the role of economic NORMS. By knowing in advance the conditions in the planned period, the tasks for the supply of output, the prices, the deductions from profits toward the budget, and the norms for the formation of wage funds and of cost-accounting incentive funds, the collectives of enterprises will be able to draft plans without fear of uncovering reserves, that ensure a higher rate of growth of production and a significant increase in efficiency. In this connection, enterprises must be given the opportunity--following the example of VAZ [Volga motor vehicle works] and the Sumy machine-building works--to earn for themselves the means needed to expand the technically renovate production.

It is especially important to enhance the independence of enterprises and organizations in the sphere of production of consumer goods and services. It is their task to react responsively to the demands of consumers. In this area, we are restructuring the economic mechanism of light industry. The range of tasks decided from above for enterprises of this industry is being sharply restricted. Their plans will be formed primarily on the basis of contracts with trade organizations, which in their turn have to be responsible for how their purchase orders correspond to the real demands of the population. In other words, it is not gross output but quantity, range, and quality of goods the thing that people need; which will be the main thing. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) Furthermore, the setting up is planned of interindustrial production and industrial-trading associations for the manufacture and marketing of light industry goods and the expansion of direct-sales trade.

The time has come to solve the following question, too. It is necessary for the size of an enterprise's wage fund to be directly tied to revenues from the sales of its products. This will help to eliminate the production and supply of unwanted, low-quality goods, work for the warehouse, as they say.

Incidentally, it is not just in light industry that such an approach should be applied. We can no longer reconcile ourselves to the fact that the workers of enterprises producing unsuitable products are living without particular cares, receiving in full both their wages and bonuses and other benefits. Indeed, why must we pay for labor which produces output none takes? One way or another, all this turns against us comrades! That should not be forgotten. (APPLAUSE)

A thoughtful approach is also required by the question of the rational combination of LARGE, MEDIUM, AND SMALL ENTERPRISES. As experience shows, it is the small technically well-equipped enterprises which in many cases have the advantage. They are able more swiftly and flexibly to take stock of technological innovations and change in demand, more expeditiously satisfy the requirements for small-batch output sold by the piece and make better use of spare labor resources, particularly in small towns.

And here is another significant aspect of reorganization: the strengthening of the territorial approach in planning and management. This is particularly important for such a vast country as ours--diverse in conditions and having many nationalities. At party conferences and congresses, communist parties of the union republics have rightly criticized the actions of ministries and departments which ignore the conditions and requirements of regions, resulting in imbalances in the economy.

A proposal is forthcoming on this account; evidently it is worth thinking about expanding the rights of republic and local organs, on the example of the agro-industrial complex, in the management of construction, inter-industry production capacities, the social and industrial infrastructure, and many enterprises manufacturing consumer goods. (APPLAUSE) We should give more territorial direction to the activities of the USSR Gosplan and the ministries. The management of the national economy over large economic regions deserves to be studied.

Our plans for the near and distant future are to a considerable extent connected with the development of the natural resources of Siberia and the Far East. This is a matter of great importance, and it needs to be approached as a matter of state, ensuring comprehensiveness to the development of the regions. Special attention needs to be given to the creation of the essential conditions there for fruitful labor, and for the full and rich life of the people. That is the main question today, and the fulfillment of appointed tasks will depend on how it is resolved.

At our congress, we should draw attention to the tasks of the further social and economic development of the Russian non-Chernozem Zone. I will stress two points: the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government had adopted special decisions on the upturn of agriculture in the non-Chernozem Zone, and they must be fulfilled rigorously and to their fullest extent. That is the first point. The second point is that it is essential that local party, soviet, and economic bodies and labor collectives pay much more attention to the efficient use of the potential amassed there, and the allotted resources.

Strengthening of the territorial principle of management demands a rise in the level of economic leadership in each republic, oblast, town, and rayon. Suggestions often come in from localities which have not been properly worked over, dictated not by national economic interests but rather by parasitical interests or else interests of self-esteem, involving the economy in capital-intensive and low-efficiency projects.

Due attention not everywhere is given to raising production efficiency. In Kazakhstan, for instance, one-third less national income comes from a unit of basic production funds than on average in the national economy. In Turkmenia, public sector labor productivity has not risen at all in 15 years.

Thought should be given about how to more closely link the volume of resources allocated for social needs with the efficiency of the regional economy. (APPLAUSE)

Comrades! Every restructuring of the economic mechanism begins, as is known, with a restructuring of awareness, rejection of stereotyped ways of thinking and of practice, and with a clear understanding of the new tasks. This primarily concerns the activity of our economic cadres, the staff of the central links of management. The majority of them have a good idea of the party's undertakings, and actively support them. They boldly set about difficult tasks and seek and find the best ways of resolving them. Such a position merits all possible support.

But it is hard to understand those who play a waiting game, or who, like Gogol's character, who used to think out all sorts of wild schemes, but in practice do nothing and change nothing.

Personnel who adopt such a position can expect no peace. We are simply not going the same way. Our path has even less in common with those who hope that things will all settle down and go back into the old rut. There will be none of that, comrades. (STRONG APPLAUSE)

The work to restructure the economy and the economic mechanism must rely on science. Never has this been so important as now. Proceeding from the requirements of life, it is essential to take a fresh look at certain theoretical ideas and concepts. This pertains to such major problems as the interaction between the productive forces and production relations, the socialist property and the economic forms of its implementation, the relations between goods and money, the combination of centralism and independence of economic organizations, and others.

Practice has shown the untenability of notions according to which in socialist conditions THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PRODUCTION RELATIONS AND THE NATURE OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES is, so to speak, ensured automatically. Everything is more complex in life. Yes, socialist production relations open up scope for the development of productive forces. However, they must be constantly perfected for this to be the case--and this means that obsolete methods of management must be spotted in good time and replaced with new ones.

The forms of production relations, the system of management and administration currently in force generally took shape in the conditions of an extensive development of the economy. Gradually they become obsolete; they began to lose their role as incentives, and here and there they turned into impediments. Currently, we are striving to change the thrust of the economic mechanism, to overcome its cost-intensive nature, to target it toward enhancing quality and efficiency, accelerating scientific-technical progress and increasing the role played by the human factor. This is the main thing which, will mean a further perfecting of the socialist production relations and will open up a new scope for the development of productive forces.

Notions that have become established, and in particular prejudices, should not stop us here. For instance, if it is essential and justified to replace some directive indicators with economic norms, then it does not mean a departure from the principles of planned management, but merely changing its ways and means. The same can be said of the necessity to strengthen the independence, initiative and responsibility of associations and enterprises in order to enhance their role as socialist producers of goods.

Unfortunately, an attitude has become widespread in which any change in the economic mechanism is seen to entail a virtual departure from the socialist principles. In connection with this, the following should be stressed: it is socioeconomic acceleration, the strengthening of socialism in practice, that should be one of the highest criteria of perfecting management as well as the entire system of socialist production relations. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

THE PROBLEM OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY as the foundation of our social system, acquires great topical importance. The term socialist property is rich in content, encompassing the multifaceted system of relations concerned with the utilization of the means and the results of production, among people, collectives, industries, regions of the country; a whole range of economic interests. This sophisticated complex of relationships has to be combined in a certain way and to be constantly adjusted--all the more so since it is in flux. If we do not make an in-depth theoretical interpretation of these changes, we shall not be able to find correct practical solutions, and consequently work out in good time measures for the formation of a genuinely solicitous attitude toward socialist property.

It is up to us to enhance the working people's motivation to better utilize and multiply the people's wealth. How is this task to be dealt with? It would be naive to suppose that a sense of ownership could be inculcated with words. Attitudes toward property are formed primarily by those real conditions in which a man finds himself, the opportunities for him to influence the organization of production and the distribution and utilization of the results of labor. The problem therefore comes down to a further deepening of socialist self-management in the economy.

There must be a decisive enhancement of the role of labor collectives in the utilization of public property. It is important to implement rigorously the principle under which enterprises and associations take full responsibility for working without losses. The state bears no responsibility for their obligations. This precisely is the essence of cost-accounting. Nobody can be

a master of the country unless he is genuinely a master at his own factory, on his own kolkhoz, in his own workplace or on his own stock-farm. The labor collective bears the obligation of answering for everything, of concerning itself with the accumulation of public wealth. Where this is multiplied, just as where there are losses, should have an effect on the income level of every member of the collective. (APPLAUSE)

And of course we need a reliable guard against any attempts to extract unearned incomes from public property. After all, we still have pilferers who do not consider it a crime to take from an enterprise everything that comes to hand, and indeed all sorts of bribe-takers [mzdoinitsy] and self-seekers who do not disdain to make use of their official positions for their own selfish ends. In relation to this type and the other, we must apply the whole force of the law, the whole force of public condemnation. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Topical problems in the regulation of socialist property, such as ensuring the absolute priority of nation-wide interests over the interests of industries and regions, also deserve attention. Ministries, departments and territorial bodies do not own the means of production, they are only institutions of state management that are responsible to society for the efficient utilization of the people's property. And we cannot allow narrow departmentalism and parochialism to hinder the realization of the advantages of socialist property. (APPLAUSE)

We are also in favor of total clarity with regard to cooperative property. It has far from exhausted its potential in socialist production and in the better satisfaction of people's requirements. Many collective farms and other cooperative organizations are demonstrating an efficient management of things. And where there is a need, there must be all-around support for forming and developing cooperative enterprises and organizations. They must be widespread in the production and processing of goods; in residential, orchard and kitchen garden construction; and in the area of consumer services and trade.

It is also time to overcome prejudices relating to MONEY-EXCHANGE RELATIONSHIPS, and their undervaluation in the practice of the planned management of the economy. Denying the importance of their active influence on raising people's interest in the efficiency of production weakens cost-accounting and causes other undesirable consequences. And, on the contrary, the healthy functioning of money-exchange relationships on a socialist basis is capable of creating the management conditions in which results will entirely depend on the quality of work of the collective and on the ability and initiative of managers.

Thus, comrades, we are obliged repeatedly to assess the situation that has developed and to decisively reorganize what has become out-of-date and obsolete. A deep understanding of this task by the party aktiv, all cadres, a realization of this by the broad masses, is the necessary condition of success. The starting point in the exceptionally crucial matter of creating a new economic mechanism and the whole management system. (APPLAUSE)

4. Reserves for Economic Growth Must Be Put Into Operation

Comrades! The party has drawn up a strategy for intensive reforms in the national economy and has set about implementing them. They will no doubt make it possible to accelerate the economy's development. But this will require a lot of time and we must achieve an increase in the rate of growth immediately--today. The distinctiveness of 12th 5-Year Plan lies precisely in the fact that the re-equipping of the national economy on a new scientific and technical base is to be carried out along with the simultaneous increase in the rate of progress.

Hence the need for the maximum mobilization of all our reserves. It is more sensible to begin with those things which do not require major expenditure but which give a quick and tangible effect. This is a question of organizational-economic and socio-psychological factors, of the better use of the production potential that has been created, of the raising of the effectiveness of labor incentives, of strengthening the level of organization and discipline and of overcoming bad management. We have the reserves at hand. With motivation and good economic management, they promise a high return.

Take a look at the capacities in operation. The fixed production assets in the country have exceeded R1.5 trillion, but they are not being used properly everywhere. This concerns a number of branches: machine building, heavy industry, power generation, and agriculture. It is particularly perturbing that the most active assets--machinery, equipment, and machine tools--frequently stand idle or do not work at full strength. For instance, in machine building, metal-cutting machine tools are used for only slightly more than one shift. As a whole, because of the underloading of capacities, the country experiences an annual shortfall in industrial output worth billions of rubles. The planning and economic organs and enterprise collectives must do everything possible to ensure that the creative capacities operate at their planned level. In heavy industry alone, this would make it possible to double the output growth rates.

Weak discipline relating to coordinated deliveries also hinders us. Their nonfulfillment in one place reverberates through the whole of the national economy, and reduces the efficiency of the economy. Lack of rhythm in production also causes marked damage. It is no secret that many enterprises stand idle more than they work at the beginning of the month. On the other hand at the end of the month, rushed work begins and as a result the quality of articles is poor. We must eliminate this chronic disease. To abide strictly to coordinated deliveries is the duty of labor collectives as well as all sections of management. We shall not be able to achieve what has been projected if we do not bring order to the planning and supplying, do not create the necessary reserves, do not increase at all levels material responsibility for lack of discipline and substandard output.

The reserves in the use of labor resources are also considerable. Some economic leaders complain about an insufficient workforce. I believe that these complaints are without foundation in most cases. Taking a closer look, one can see that there is no workforce shortage. Instead, there is clearly a low level of labor productivity, an insufficient level of organization and

inefficient use of incentives. One should also add to this the ill-founded decisions made by planning and economic bodies which permit the creation of excessive numbers of jobs. It is well known that some of our enterprises, design bureaus, and research institutes, while having to cope with the same volume of work as similar organizations abroad, have a significantly larger number of workers than they do.

As soon as enterprises seriously set about improving labor organization and incentives and increase discipline and exactingness, reserves will emerge that no one ever thought existed. The use of the Shchekino method of attestation of jobs is graphic proof of that. The Belorussian railway men, by transferring themselves to a new system of remuneration of labor, and by combining duties have freed about 12,000 workers for other industries over a short period of time.

And naturally more attention should be paid to automation and mechanization of production. In addressing this question, one does not necessarily have to wait until this or that machine or device is designed and manufactured. A lot can be done with one's own powers. The Zaporozhye Oblast, for example, started doing this and in over 3 years has been able to reduce the number of people engaged in manual jobs in industry by 9 percent, and in construction by 15 percent. I believe that other oblasts, krays and republics possess just as much potential. The important thing is to undertake this persistently, with personal interest, remembering the people who have to do manual jobs and the necessity of reducing production cost.

In general, comrades, there is a vast number of reserves in the economy. We have not yet really started using many of them. The psychology of a considerable part of leaders of various levels has been shaped in conditions of abundant resources. Such richness has spoiled many and led to wastefulness. But the situation has long been changed. The former influx in the workforce no longer exists; we have started paying dearly for the extraction and delivery of each metric ton of oil, ore, and coal. These facts must not be disregarded; they should be counted, and one should economize on everything, everywhere, both at work and at home, and not be indifferent to bad management and wastefulness. (APPLAUSE) Even this year we must secure almost the entire growth in the national income through an increase in the productivity of labor and a reduction of the amount of materials and energy consumed in it.

It is not a simple problem. But it is perfectly possible to solve it, especially since the country has accumulated experience in taking a thrifty attitude to resources—but this is being spread slowly. Party, Komsomol and trade union organizations must constantly keep questions of thrift within their field of vision, and support those who save and make rational use of raw materials, electric power, and fuel. A firm procedure must be established whereby overexpenditure of resources would be unprofitable and savings would be tangibly rewarded. (APPLAUSE)

I would like to single out for special attention the problem of OUTPUT QUALITY. It is not enough to say that this is our nearest and major reserve. Without high quality, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress is

impossible today. Because of design failings, technological deviations, the use of low quality materials and poor finishing work, we incur great material and moral costs; the accuracy and reliability of machines and instruments suffer, as does the satisfaction of the population's requirements of goods and services. Last year, millions of meters of cloth and pairs of leather shoes and many other consumer goods were returned to the enterprises or reclassified as being of low quality. The damage caused is substantial. Raw materials are squandered, and the labor of hundreds of thousands of workers is rendered worthless. Cardinal measures are essential to rule out the production of defective and low quality goods. For this we must apply the full force of material and administrative influence and make use of our own laws. There is obviously also a need to adopt a special law on output quality.

The CPSU Central Committee recently appealed to party committees, local soviet and management bodies, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and to all the working people, to make the maximum effort for a radical improvement in the quality of output. The task must become the concern of every Communist, every Soviet person, all who respect their labor and who are not indifferent to the honor of their enterprise and industry, to the honor of our motherland.
[PROLONGED APPLAUSE]

A great deal of work lies ahead of us--responsible, intensive work. The first year of a 5-year period is a year of persistent labor, when every leader and labor collective is tried and tested in practice. We are obliged to withstand this test, to draw into production all the reserves of the economy and to strengthen the basis for further transformations.

The diligence and talent of the Soviet people are the decisive conditions for achieving the set goal. Everything depends on the skillful organization and precise orientation of this great force. And here it is difficult to overestimate the role of socialist competition. It should be aimed at raising the quality of work, raising economy and thrift and attaining the targets set for every collective and at every workplace. We are sure that enthusiasm and growing skill have served and will continue to serve as our reliable support.
(APPLAUSE)

C. The Basic Guidelines of Social Policy

Comrades, our party has always focused its attention on matters of social policy, on concern for the person.

The social sphere encompasses the interests of classes, social groups, nations and ethnic groups; the relations between society and the individuals; and conditions of life and work, health and leisure. IT IS PRECISELY IN THIS SPHERE THAT THE RESULTS OF ECONOMIC WORK ARE IMPLEMENTED, TOUCHING UPON THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, AND THAT THE HIGHER AIMS OF SOCIALISM ARE EMBODIED. IT IS PRECISELY HERE THAT THE HUMANISTIC NATURE OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM--ITS QUALITATIVE DISTINCTION FROM CAPITALISM--IS MANIFEST MOST EXTENSIVELY AND GRAPHICALLY.

Socialism abolished the main source of social injustice--man's exploitation of man--and inequality with regard to means of production. Social justice

permeates every aspect of socialist relations in society. It exists in true popular rule, equality of all citizens before the law and in the real equality of nations, respect for the individual and provision of conditions necessary for its comprehensive development. Social justice lies also in the broad social guarantees, job security, accessibility of education, culture, medical care and housing, care for the elderly, mothers and children. The strict implementation of the principles of social justice is an important condition for unity of the people, the political steadfastness of society and the dynamism of development.

But life does not stand still, as they say. We must take a new look at the further development of the social sphere and give a full evaluation of its growing significance. We are committed to this by the general course towards socioeconomic acceleration worked out by the party, and the aim of our party's program, which is the achievement of the full welfare and free and comprehensive development of all members of society.

The lessons of the past also demand our increased interest in social questions. The party's Central Committee considers that the central and local bodies have underestimated urgent problems which have arisen in the material base of the sociocultural sphere of the country. As a result an essentially residual principle has evolved of allocating resources for its development. The well-known distortion in favor of technocratic approaches has reduced attention towards the social side of production to everyday life, and to free time, which in turn could not avoid giving rise to a lowering in the interest of the working people in the results of work, a weakening of discipline and other negative phenomena.

For us the ways and means of achieving an improvement in material and spiritual life and the social consequences it brings are not at all a matter of indifference. If private property attitudes or attitudes of living at someone else's expense, or tendencies towards levelling start to appear, then something must be wrong in the choice of ways and means in our work and this requires correction. In the course of the discussion of the pre-congress documents Communists and non-party members spoke with concern about a weakening of control over the measure of work and consumption about the violation of the requirements of social justice; and about the need to step up the fight against unearned income. It is impossible to avoid seeing the seriousness and significance of these questions. (APPLAUSE)

In short, the level of development attained and the scale of the new tasks create the need for a long-term, profoundly thoughtout, integral and strong social policy embracing all aspects of social life. It is essential that there be a decisive turn by the planning and administrative bodies in the central and local economic organizations toward the requirements of the social sphere.

The tasks of social policy are thoroughly described in the drafts of the party program and the basic guidelines. Allow me to dwell on some issues of its implementation:

1. Steadily Improving the People's Well-Being and Consistently Consolidating Social Justice

In the long-term plans for the country's social and economic development it is planned TO RAISE THE PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING TO A QUALITATIVELY NEW LEVEL. In the forthcoming 15-year period it is intended to double the volume of resources directed toward improving the conditions of life and to increase real per capita income by 1.6-1.8 times. In the 12th 5-Year Plan period, millions of people will benefit from an increase in income. Enormous resources are being directed toward expanding housing construction and social and cultural construction. Such are the plans, but the important thing has to be said: These plans will become a reality only on the condition that every Soviet person works hard and efficiently. Every Soviet person, whatever work he does and whatever post he holds. What we ourselves do determines what we shall have and how we shall live. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Socialist transformations have radically altered the role of labor and the worker and peasant masses' attitude to labor. This is very apparent in the mass development of socialist competition. Relying upon the wealth of experience, the party intends to further develop these traditions and mold a conscious, creative attitude to labor as the paramount public duty.

At meetings for giving reports and holding elections and at conferences, Communists have correctly set forth the question not only of the improvement of forms of moral encouragement, but also of the decisive improvement of material incentives and the establishment of proper order in this important affair. Attention was justly drawn to the impermissibility of unfairly manipulating the basis on which pay and bonuses are calculated [tak nazyvayemaya "vyvodilovka"]: the payment of unearned money; the payment of undeserved bonuses; the fixing of guaranteed rates of pay unrelated to the labor done, to the contribution by the worker. As far as this is concerned, it has to be said quite definitely that when the labor of a good worker and a negligent worker are remunerated equally, that is a gross violation of our principles. And it is above all an impermissible distortion of the basic principle of socialism: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor," which embodies the essence of social justice of the new social order.

The state's policy in the sphere of wages should also ensure that wages are strictly dependent upon the quantity and quality of labor. Taking this into account, the increase in wages and salaries for workers, and for employees in production industries planned for the 12th 5-Year Plan period will for the first time be carried out basically at the expense of, and within the limits of, funds earned by the enterprises themselves. (APPLAUSE) Such a procedure will more actively promote the acceleration of technical progress and the increased efficiency of production.

In the nonproduction sector, wages and salaries will rise at the expense of centralized sources. Last year phased salary increases began for doctors and other health workers; in 1987 it is planned to complete the increases in wages and salaries for workers in national education and to start increasing salaries for cultural workers. Measures are being implemented to extend the

advantages in salaries paid to manual and office workers in a number of regions in eastern Siberia and the Far East.

Many workers' proposals raise the question of the role of social consumption funds in realizing the principle of equity. About one-third of the material benefits and services enjoyed already come from these. We proceed from the position that these are by no means charity funds. They play an important role in ensuring that members of society have equal access to education and culture, in creating equal conditions for upbringing children and in making life easier for those who, due to circumstances, are in need of help on one occasion or constantly. At the same time, these are also incentive funds to encourage highly-qualified and conscientious labor. The party intends to continue to conduct a policy for the further increase and more effective utilization of social funds. In the 12th 5-Year Plan period, they will increase 20-23 percent in volume.

The fight against unearned income is an important function of the socialist state. We must today admit that as a consequence of weakened control, and a number of other causes, groups of people have arisen who have clearly pronounced proprietary aspirations and a scornful attitude toward the public interests.

The working people rightly raise the question of eradicating such manifestations. The Central Committee gives its full backing to these demands. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) It has been acknowledged that it is necessary to carry out in the very near future additional measures aimed against parasites, those who misappropriate socialist property, bribe-takers, and against those who have set out along a path alien to the nature of our order, which is one based upon labor. (APPLAUSE) One must also think over proposals about perfecting taxation policy, including progressive taxation on inheritance.

However, in putting an end to unearned income through labor one must not allow a shadow to fall on those who are receiving additional earnings by honest labor. Moreover, the state will promote the development of various forms of satisfying the population's demands and the supply of services. The proposal concerning the regulation of individual labor activity must be studied attentively. Of course, such types of labor must be fully compatible with the principles of socialist management, and be based either on cooperative principles, or on a contractual basis with socialist enterprises. Society and the population can only gain from this. (APPLAUSE)

All efforts to perfect distributive relations [raspredelitelnye otnosheniya] will have little effect, and the task of raising the people's well-being will be unfulfilled, if we are unable TO SATURATE THE MARKET WITH VARIOUS GOODS AND SERVICES. The integrated program for development of production of consumer goods and the services sphere is directed towards this.

In the current 5-year plan, it is necessary to ensure a higher growth rate for the production of consumer goods and retail trade turnover and to considerably improve trade and public catering. Heavy industry sectors have the task of involving all enterprises in the production of industrial goods and ensuring

the production of high-quality materials and equipment for the light and food industry.

It is necessary to set up an up-to-date sphere of services as quickly as possible. This is the task of central organizations. However, to no lesser degree--perhaps even to a greater degree--it is a task for the councils of ministers of union republics and all organs of local power. Decisive measures must be adopted to eliminate the marked imbalance between the demand for services and their supply, primarily those services connected with aiding housework, the provision of services and amenities for, and repair of, flats, tourism and vehicle servicing--the demand for which is growing particularly rapidly. Taking into account proposals by working people, we have begun the broad development of collective horticulture and market gardening. This is now underway, however this work must be continued once all artificial obstacles have been removed.

The social importance and acute character of the HOUSING PROBLEM also determines the seriousness of our attitude towards it. To ensure a separate flat or a house for each family by the year 2000--this is in itself a vast task, but a reasonable one. In the current 5-year plan and in the next one in particular, the scale of housing construction and the modernization of housing funds will increase. It is necessary to encourage as much as possible the construction of cooperative and individually-held housing. Here lie great reserves for the development of housing construction. The right attitude is there when the construction of youth complexes is supported. The interest and energy of young people can also do much in this respect.

Much is being said about the necessity to improve seriously the practice of housing distribution. These questions have to be solved on a broad democratic basis and have to be under constant public control. The proposal on introducing just changes into the system of rent payment--to link it closely with the size and quality of all the living area occupied--deserves attention. The poor quality of housing construction has given rise to much criticism. In this connection it is necessary to work out measures which will stimulate real improvement and also the improvement of planning, of the provision of facilities, and of the architecture of our towns and villages.

Comrades! Qualitative rises in the social sphere are impossible without PROFOUND CHANGES IN WORK CONTENT. The fundamental role here is to be played by the technical modernization of the national economy--mechanization, automation, computerization and robotization--which, and I stress this particularly, must have precise social direction. In the current 5-year plan, the intention is to sharply reduce the proportion of manual labor, to reduce it to 15-20 percent in the production sphere by the year 2000, and to release millions of people from manual operations. The further transformation of work in conditions of scientific-technical revolution makes high demands on the educational and vocational training of people. As a matter of fact, the task of CREATING A UNIFORM SYSTEM OF CONTINUOUS EDUCATION is on the agenda.

The Central Committee has taken important steps in this direction in recent years; the reform of GENERAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS has started. It must be said that the tempo and the depth of implementation of the measures

envisaged by the reform cannot yet satisfy us. The interests of the matter require a more profound study of the scientific bases of present-day production and the principle directions for its intensification. What is particularly urgent is to ensure students computer literacy. In general, it is essential to have a fuller implementation of Lenin's principle of combining education with productive labor, to strive more resolutely to raise efficiency of study, to radically improve training of young people for independent life and work, and to bring up alert builders of the new society.

The party is putting forward the TASK OF RESTRUCTURING HIGHER AND SECONDARY SPECIAL EDUCATION. Over the past few years the increase specialists graduating has not been accompanied by a due rise in quality of their training. There has arisen a serious lagging behind in the material basis of higher education. We need a considerable improvement in the practice of utilization of engineering and technical staff.

Now, proposals have been prepared which are directed at changing the existing position. The interests of society require a rise in the prestige of engineering. There is to be a review of the structure of higher and secondary special education, and specialists possessing the fundamental theoretical knowledge and practical skills are to be trained at the contemporary standard. Evidently the relationship between higher and secondary special education and industries of the national economy must be built in a new way; there must be an intensification of their mutual interest in raising the level of education and retraining of staff, and a cardinal improvement in the utilization in production.

For every person, and indeed for society, there is nothing more valuable than health. THE MAINTENANCE AND STRENGTHENING OF PEOPLE'S HEALTH is a matter of primary importance. We must view health problems from a broad social standpoint. It is primarily defined by conditions of work and life, by the level of well-being, and of course public health care has enormous significance. We must satisfy as soon as possible the population's requirements for high-quality curative, preventative and medicinal help in all areas. All this poses in a new way the question of the material-technical base of the health services and how to tackle many urgent scientific, organizational and cadre problems. Of course, considerable funds will be required, and we shall have to find them.

Someone remarked long ago, and quite rightly, that you can't buy health in a chemist's shop. The main thing is a person's way of life, and in particular, how wisely and usefully he employs his free time. There are opportunities for this, but the organizational side of the matter is suffering badly. Much depends on public initiative and the spontaneous action of the population, but in towns and villages and in labor collectives they quite often expect instructions and set their hopes on assistance from the top. Why do we make poor use of the facilities at our disposal--palaces, clubs, stadia, parks, and many other things? Why do local soviets, trade unions and the Komsomol not tackle these issues as they should? Why don't they spread a movement for more active construction near people's homes of the most rudimentary sports grounds

and sports halls? Finally, why don't they organize sports, tourist and other clubs on cooperative principles?

A struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism has developed in the country. In the name of the health of society and of man, we have embarked on decisive measures and waged battle on traditions which have taken centuries to develop and become implanted. But, without laboring under any delusions about what has been achieved, it may be said that drinking binges have been squeezed out of the production process and fewer of them occur now in public places. The situation in the family is improving. Industrial injuries have been reduced and order has been strengthened. But a lot of persistent and varied work must still be done in order to ensure that habits are finally changed. There must be no let up here. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

The task of CONSERVING NATURE AND RATIONALLY UTILIZING ITS RESOURCES confronts us acutely. With its planned organization of production and its humanistic world view, socialism is capable of bringing harmony into the mutual relations between society and nature. We are already implementing a system of measures aimed at this and considerable funds are being allocated. Practical results have been achieved.

Nevertheless, in a number of regions the condition of the natural environment gives cause for concern, and the public and our writers are correct to raise the question of a solicitous attitude to the land, to the resources of the earth, to its lakes and rivers, and to the world of plants and animals.

In the matter of the conservation of nature, it is impermissible to implement the scientific and technical achievements slowly. Outmoded designs are still being included in projects for the construction of new enterprises and for the reconstruction of old ones. Waste-free and low-waste technological processes are being poorly introduced. In the processing of minerals, by far the greater part of the mass recovered is discarded as waste thereby polluting the environment. Here more decisive measures of an economic, legal, and educational nature are essential. All of us alive today are responsible to our descendants and to history for our natural environment. (APPLAUSE)

2. Improving Social Class and National Relations

Comrades. To a Marxist-Leninist party the analysis of problems of MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN CLASSES AND SOCIAL GROUPS is vitally important. Taking careful account of the commonality of their interests, and of their specifics, in its policy, the Communist Party ensures the lasting unity of society, and the successful resolution of its most important and complex tasks.

In Soviet society the place of the vanguard is held by the working class. Thanks to its position in the system of socialist production, its political experience, its high degree of awareness and organization, and its labor and political activity, the working class lends cohesion to our society and plays a leading role in perfecting socialism and communist construction. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) Constant concern to strengthen the union of the working class with the peasantry and intelligentsia is the keystone of the policy of the CPSU. It is precisely here that we have our opportunity for a concentration of

forces to accelerate the solution of the economic and social tasks which we are now putting forward.

But the unity of socialist society in no way means a leveling of public life. Socialism develops the whole variety of interests, requirements, and abilities of people; it actively supports the independence of public organizations which express that variety. What is more, socialism needs such variety, seeing in it the necessary condition for a further upsurge in people's creative activity, initiative, and competition of brains and talents without which the socialist way of life is altogether unthinkable, without which progress is unthinkable. (APPLAUSE)

In general, the question is this: Unless we can raise production and economic competition, as well as rivalry in the area of science and artistic creation, to new, incomparably higher level we will also be unable to solve the task of accelerating the country's socioeconomic progress. (APPLAUSE) The development of the socialist way of life means the creation of the maximum potential for the consolidation of collectivism, the cohesion of society, and the increasing of individual activeness.

Public attention is attracted to the PROBLEM OF STRENGTHENING THE FAMILY. Our achievements in establishing the new socialist family are unquestionable. Socialism has freed women from economic and social oppression and has created equal opportunities for them to work, receive an education, and take part in public life. The socialist family is built on the basis of full equality of man and woman, and their equal responsibility for the family.

But the forming of the new family is not a simple matter. It is a complex process that has its own problems. In particular, although the number of divorces has decreased over the last few years, it is nevertheless still high. There are also quite a few unhappy families. All this, in the first instance, adversely affects the education of children, as well as the moral condition of men and women, and their working and social activity. Society, of course, cannot be indifferent to these phenomena--a sound family is one of its most important foundations. (APPLAUSE)

Young families need particular care: it is necessary to make young people ready for family life. The system of material assistance for young newlyweds needs to be more thoroughly thought out, especially in the solution of problems of housing and daily amenities. It seems to be advisable to examine the proposals to improve our legal regulations in order to increase the responsibility of citizens for consolidating the family. But that's not all there is to it. The practical work of state and public organizations must be set up in such a way that it can further in every possible way the consolidation of the family and its foundations. The point here is the creation of conditions in which public holidays can be spent together as well as cultural and sports events and family holidays. It is essential to widely celebrate labor dynasties, to support good family traditions, and to educate young people with the experience of older generations. Much useful work can be done here by the mass information media--television, literature, the cinema and the theater.

The prerequisite for solving many problems of the family is the CREATION OF WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS FOR WOMEN that would allow motherhood to be combined successfully with an active participation in public and working activity. In the 12th 5-Year Plan, it is projected to make wider use of a partial work day for women, or a reduced work week, and work at home. The duration of paid leave will increase for mothers who are rearing children until they are 1 and 1/2 years old, as well as the number of remunerated days in the event of a child's sickness. Less well-to-do families will begin to receive allowances for children up to age 12. The task is being set in the coming years to fully satisfy the requirements of the population for children's preschool establishments.

Thought should also be given to corresponding organizations forms: Why not resurrect the councils of women in labor collectives formed according to their place of residence, and unite them into a single system headed by the Committee of Soviet Women? (APPLAUSE) Women's councils could seriously influence the solution of the broad circle of social questions in the life of our society.

A great place in our activity should be taken up by the CARE FOR THE OLDER GENERATION--VETERANS OF WAR AND WORK. The party and the Soviet State will do everything possible to enable the material well-being of pensioners to grow along with the growth of the public wealth. In the 12th 5-Year Plan it is planned to increase the minimum pensions to workers and employees based of age, disability, and cases of the loss of the breadwinner, and also pensions fixed earlier for collective farm workers. But, as we say, man does not live by bread alone. The Central Committee is receiving reports that when retired, many veterans seem to have nothing to do. Obviously, both centrally and locally, within the framework of state and public organizations, additional measures must be adopted that will help veterans to participate more actively in economic and public and political life. We are talking today about more than 50 million Soviet people. (APPLAUSE)

A new step would be the creation of an all-union public organization of veterans of war and work. (APPLAUSE) It is thought that it could do a lot to draw people with life's experiences into public and political affairs, and primarily into bringing up the younger generation. The work of pensioners will have a good future, both on a cooperative as well as on a personal and family basis, in the area of services, selling, and production of consumer goods and agricultural produce. The new organization can give great help in improving consumer and medical services for pensioners and in arranging their leisure time. As we see it now, it will have quite a few things to do.

Comrades! For the Soviet multinational state the DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS AMONG NATIONALITIES has enormous significance. The basis of the solution of the nationalities question in our country was laid down by the Great October Socialist Revolution. Relying on the teachings of Lenin and the gains of socialism, the Communist Party has carried out gigantic transformation work in this area. The results are an outstanding achievement of socialism, and have enriched world civilization. The national yoke and national inequalities in all forms and manifestations have finally been destroyed. The inviolable friendship of peoples, the respect for national culture and national worth of

all peoples have been confirmed and have entered the consciousness of tens of millions of people. The Soviet people act as a qualitatively new social and internationalist whole, welded together by unity of economic interests, ideology and political goals.

But our achievements must not create the impression of a lack of problems in national processes. There are contradictions peculiar to every development. They are not avoidable in this area. The main thing is to see the aspects and facets which constantly arise, search and provide in time correct replies to the questions that life presents, the more so in that here there are aspirations which have not yet been overcome, and which at times manifest themselves in an unhealthy way, for national exclusiveness and parochialism, and attitudes of living at the expense of others.

In working out the basic guidelines of nationalities policy for the future, it is particularly important to ensure that the contribution of all republics to the development of a united national economic complex corresponds to their increased economic and spiritual potential. The development of cooperation in production, cooperation and mutual assistance among the republics is in the highest interests of our multinational state and of every republic. The task of party organizations and soviets lies in making fuller use of existing opportunities in the common interest to ensure that any manifestations of parochialism are persistently overcome.

We are justly proud of the achievements of the Soviet multinational socialist culture. Absorbing the wealth of national forms and colors, it is becoming a unique phenomenon in world culture. But it is important to ensure that a healthy interest in all that is of value, which is present to every national culture does not degenerate into attempts to cut oneself off from the objective process of the cooperation among and drawing together of national cultures. This must also be borne in mind when, under the guise of national originality, attempts are made in certain works of literature and the arts and in scientific works to present in stylized tones reactionary-nationalistic and religious remnants which run counter to our ideology--the socialist way of life and a scientific outlook on the world. (APPLAUSE)

A tradition of our party that comes from Lenin is special sharpness and circumspection in everything that concerns the policy on nationalities, everything that touches upon the interests of every nation and ethnic group, and the national feelings of people and also, at the same time, a principled struggle against manifestations of national narrowmindedness and arrogance, nationalism and chauvinism in whatever clothes they may be dressed. We Communists must steadily follow Lenin's wise advice, make creative use of it in new conditions, and be thoroughly attentive and principled in relations among the nationalities in the name of the further consolidation of fraternal friendship among all the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

The social policy which has been drawn up by the party is multifaceted and fully implementable. But success will depend, to a decisive degree, on the social orientation of cadres, on their steadfastness and initiative in the implementation of our plans. Concern for the specific needs and interests of

people must be the object of the unwaning attention of party, local soviet and economic organizations, of trade unions and of each manager. If we are able to achieve a decisive turn in the social sphere, then many of today's and tomorrow's problems in our lives will be resolved much more rapidly and effectively than they have been so far. (STORMY, PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

III. The Further Democratization of Society and the Deepening of the Peoples' Socialist Self-Management

Comrades! Vladimir Ilich Lenin saw the main force for the development of the new order in democratization and the living creativity of the working people. He was second to none in his belief in the people and in the concern he showed for raising the political activity and culture of the masses, emphasizing that an illiterate person stands outside politics. Almost 7 decades have passed since that time. The general level of education and culture of Soviet people has been raised beyond measure and their social and political experience has been enriched. That means that there has also been an enormous degree of growth in the opportunities and needs of each citizen to participate in the management of the affairs of society and of state.

Democracy is the healthy and pure air, which is the only sort of air that enables the socialist public organism to lead a full-blooded life. That is why, when we say that we are not yet making full use of the mighty potential of socialism, we also have in mind the fact that ACCELERATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY IS UNTHINKABLE AND IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND OF ALL ITS ASPECTS AND MANIFESTATIONS.

Taking this into consideration the party and Central Committee are undertaking steps directed at deepening the democratization of the socialist order. In this we must include the measures to activate the soviets' trade unions, the Komsomol, labor collectives and people's control to strengthen publicity. But still, what has been done and is being done must be evaluated not by the yardsticks of yesterday but according to the scale and complexity of new tasks. These tasks, as is stressed in the new edition of the party program, demand the consistent and steady development of SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGEMENT BY THE PEOPLE.

In a socialist society, especially in today's conditions, government cannot be the privilege of a narrow circle of professionals. Not only from theory, but from our own experience of many years, we know that the socialist order only develops successfully when the people themselves really govern their own affairs, when millions of people participate in political life. And this is indeed self-government of the working people in its Leninist sense. It makes up the essence of Soviet power. Principles of self-government are developed not outside of, but within our statehood, penetrating more and more deeply into every pore of state and public life, enriching the content of democratic centralism, and strengthening its socialist nature.

The party acts as the guiding force and the main guarantor for the development of socialist self-government. Fulfilling its leadership role in society, it is itself the highest form of sociopolitical self-governing organization. By developing intraparty democracy and raising the activity of Communists working

in all sectors of the political system, the CPSU is giving the correct guidance to the process of deepening of socialist self-government of the people and that of the expansion of participation of the masses, of every person, in the affairs of the country.

Born of the revolutionary creativity of the working people, THE SOVIETS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES have undergone the test of time. They have demonstrated their viability and their immense capabilities in implementing the sovereignty of the people and in uniting and mobilizing the masses. The very logic of the development of socialist democracy goes to show the insistent necessity for the maximum utilization of these potentials for these soviet representative bodies.

One can only welcome the fact that with every passing year, the character of the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the Supreme Soviets of union and autonomous republics are becoming ever more businesslike and efficient. They are called upon to persistently improve legislation, and to monitor how our laws are operating and what real returns are being provided by the work of every state body and leader. It is necessary for the proposals of trades unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations to be discussed more energetically at sessions of Supreme Soviets, as should reports by administrative bodies and the state of individual sectors of the economy and that of the development of regions.

I would like to draw the special attention of congress delegates to the work of LOCAL SOVIETS. Today they could and should become one of the most effective links in mobilizing the masses to speed up the socioeconomic development of the country. Receiving the mandate of the voters, the local organs of power take upon themselves the responsibility for all spheres of life on their territory. Even if someone can say: I am not responsible for this question--for the soviet, such a formula is unacceptable. Housing and education, health care and consumer goods, trade in the services sphere, public transportation and environmental protection are their vital concerns. When we still hear a lot of complaints from the working people on these questions, it means that the soviets lack businesslike attitudes and initiative, and that the control which they exercise is weak. However, making well-founded demands of the soviets, one cannot fail to see another thing. In tackling a number of questions of local significance, their potentials are still limited. Excessive centralization exists in tackling the issues that are far from always clearly visible from the center and can be handled much better on the spot.

That is why we are resolutely directing our course toward enhancing the independence and the level of activity of local organs of power. The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers are now elaborating proposals to this effect. Their essence lies in making each soviet a full and responsible master in everything that concerns meeting the everyday requests and needs of the people, making use of the allocated resources, local potentials and reserves, for coordinating and monitoring of the work of all organizations providing services for the population. In this connection, the question of the relations between soviets and enterprises situated on their territories but subordinate to a higher

action is to be examined at length; and the interest of the local organs of power in the results of their work is to be enhanced.

Sessions of the soviets should be conducted in a much more efficient way; the analytical and monitoring activities of standing commissions should be intensified; the handling of deputies' requests should be improved. Recommendations of commissions, proposals, and criticisms from deputies should be examined thoroughly and taken into account by executive bodies.

Determining further moves directed at improving the activities of the soviets, we cannot be oblivious of the fact that none of them will bring the necessary results if they are not backed by the initiative of the deputies. The party will continue to see to it that the most worthy people are elected deputies--people who are capable of handling matters of state on a highly efficient level, and to ensure that the composition of soviets is systematically renewed. In this respect, the time is apparently ripe for making necessary corrections in our electoral practice as well. Quite a lot of questions awaiting resolution have accumulated here.

The party has considered and still considers it to be its duty to consolidate the prestige of the elected representatives of the people, and at the same time, to take all possible measures to raise their accountability to the voters. The title of deputy is not just a supplement to one's position, not an honorary privilege, but a great deal of difficult work in a soviet and among the population. And one should do everything in one's power to ensure strict adherence to the law on the status of deputies, and to ensure that each deputy makes use of all of his opportunities to exercise his powers in practice. (APPLAUSE)

The development of the self-government of the people demands the FURTHERANCE OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES IN ADMINISTRATION, in the activities of executive committees of the soviets, their staff, and all other state bodies. Expert workers who support the cause are in the majority here. But one should always remember that no apparatus--even if its workers are as wise as Solomon--will achieve anything without reliance on the involved support and participation of the working people in management. The times makes increasingly strict and severe demands in relation to the level of work by the apparatus. And there are quite a few shortcomings here. Frequently one meets with manifestations of narrow departmental and regional interest, lack of responsibility, bureaucratism and attitudes of official indifference toward people. One of the basic causes of these phenomena lies in the weakening of control over the work of the apparatus on the part of working people, the local soviets themselves, and public organizations.

With regard to this, the party sets the task of bringing into action all tools that provide every citizen with a real opportunity to have an effective influence on working out management decisions, checking their implementation, and receiving the necessary information on the work of the apparatus. Subordinated to this must be a system of regular reports by all management bodies to work collectives and meetings of the people. Much here can be done by people's control committees, groups, and posts, and by public inspection on the part of trade unions and by the mass media.

And the elective bodies themselves must be more exacting and stricter in relation to their apparatus. One cannot ignore the fact that apparatus workers who have been in position for a long time often lose a taste for what is new, shut themselves off from people by means of instructions compiled by them and sometimes even slow down the work of elective bodies. It is evidently time we worked out a system that would enable soviets and all public organs to assess senior officials working in their apparatus and make the necessary cadre changes in it after every set of elections. (APPLAUSE)

The time demands increasingly active involvement by PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS in the work of running the country. However, when one views the work of our public organizations [formirovaniye] from this point of view, it becomes clear that initiative on the part of many of them remains insufficient. In a number of cases, they attempt to act primarily through the efforts of their established officials, in a bureaucratic manner, with little reliance on the masses. In other words the popular, creative nature of public organizations, with their capacity for spontaneous action, is far from being fully realized.

Our largest mass organization is the trade unions. On the whole, they do quite a lot to satisfy the requirements of industrial, office and professional workers and collective farmers, to develop competition, strengthen discipline and raise productivity. However, when it comes to defending the legitimate interests of the working people, labor protection and safety techniques, building and operating therapeutic, sports, and club facilities, trade union committees far from always display sufficient militant purposefulness and persistence. It is understandable that such a passive attitude might suit those economic planners who at times, put production before the individual. But for the trade unions, social policy and the interests of the working people should always be to the fore. (APPLAUSE) Indeed this is the fundamental point of their activities. To this end the AUCCTU and other trade union bodies enjoy vast rights and considerable state funds as well as their own funds. And so these must be confidently and broadly utilized, without waiting for someone else to deal, on behalf of the trade unions, with tasks which are their responsibility.

The future is determined to a great extent, comrades, by the kind of young people we are bringing up today. This is a task for the whole party and the whole people, and it is the most important, cardinal task for the LEFT KOMSOMOL. Our young people are industrious, given to feats and self-sacrifice, devoted to socialism. But it is the duty of the older generations to do everything they can to see that those replacing them should be even more knowledgeable, capable and better educated so that they might be worthy of bearing into the future the baton of the ideals of justice and freedom bequeathed by the Great October Revolution. (APPLAUSE)

Vladimir Ilich Lenin stressed that communism cannot be learned just from books. Responsibility cannot be inculcated unless one entrusts people with responsible matters. Young people of the eighties are distinguished by a broad range of interests, by educated attitudes and energy. They are, I would say, charged for action and are looking for opportunities to show their mettle in all spheres of public life. And the Komsomol should do everything possible

to back up this striving everywhere, in the national economy, in science and technology, in mastering knowledge and culture, in political life and in the defense of their homeland. Moreover, this work, like no other, must have a searching character, be interesting and close to youth, solidly tied to the demands of young people in production, in studies and in everyday life, in the use of free time.

The party, soviet and management organs must, together with the Komsomol, consistently carry out a line for advancing the worthy representatives of youth to leading work in management, production, science and culture. We say, all paths in our country are wide open to young people: this is true. But our constant efforts are needed so that these words do not lose their lustre, and so that the path is always truly broad. (APPLAUSE)

On the whole, the CPSU Central Committee considers it expedient to undertake further steps to raise the role of trade unions and the Komsomol, of creative unions and voluntary societies in the system of socialist self-government of the people. In particular it is planned to expand the circle of questions which the state organs can resolve only with the participation, or with the preliminary agreement of the appropriate trade unions, Komsomol, and women's organizations, and to afford these organizations in a number of cases the right to call a halt to the implementation of administrative decisions.

Our party program aims at the most effective use of all forms of DIRECT DEMOCRACY, the direct participation of the popular masses in the working out, adoption, and carrying out of state and other decisions. A great role belongs here to the WORKERS' COLLECTIVE, which acts in all spheres of public life and primarily in the economy. The expansion of numerous rights of enterprises, the introduction of cost-accounting and the strengthening of socialist enterprise acquire a real content only if the degree of activity of the worker himself grows. One cannot be reconciled to the cases one still meets when workers do not know their enterprise's plans, when their proposals are left without due attention and consideration. These facts show that the forces of inertia in some places still call the shots, and hinder the inclusion of industrial, office and professional workers in the business of management and the breeding in them of a feeling that they are the complete bosses of production.

The law adopted 2 years ago on workers' collectives undoubtedly helped the revitalization of their initiative. However it cannot as yet be said that it is yielding the results which we had counted on. This was shown in the review in the CPSU Central Committee of the question of the practice of the application of the law at the Minsk Motor Vehicle Works and other enterprises. The conclusion is unambiguous: It is a cardinal necessity to improve the machinery which will make it possible to turn the democratic principles and norms laid down in the law into daily work practice. Step-by-step we should broaden the range of problems on which the decisions of the labor collective are final, and we should elevate the role of general meetings of factory and office workers and responsibility for the fulfillment of their decisions. Questions also arise regarding the fact that, in the period between general meetings, not only in teams but also at enterprise level, there should function, say, a council of the labor collective, which would comprise

representatives of the administration, party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, team councils, factory workers and specialists.

Front-ranking cost-accounting teams are already now becoming the primary cells of management, electing their own leaders. Practice shows the vitality of this area. It reaffirms the fact that in developing democratic principles in production management it is evidently advisable to extend the appointment-by-election process to all team-leaders, and then gradually to certain other categories of the managerial staffs of enterprises--foremen, shift-leaders, section-leaders, shop-floor leaders, sovkhoz section managers. Many years of experience show that it is precisely in this direction that we should be seeking forms of combining centralism and democracy, one-man management and appointment-by-election in running the national economy, which meet present-day conditions. (APPLAUSE)

A subject of constant concern is the strict observance of the democratic principles of management by kolkhozes and other cooperative organizations in fulfilling the requirements of their statutes. Attention to this has somehow slackened recently. Too many people are interfering in the lives of the cooperatives. Party and local soviet bodies are obliged to see to it that kolkhoz cooperative self-management operates smoothly, cutting short any attempts to apply pressure and administrative meddling.

Our constitution envisages the carrying out of nationwide discussion and voting on major questions of the life of the country and the draft decisions of local soviets. We must speed up the preparation of a law on this very important question. We must make even better use of such reliable channels in the development of direct democracy as meetings of citizens, instructions from the electorate, letters from the working people, the press, radio, and television, and all means of drawing out public opinion and a responsive, keen reaction to the needs and the moods of the masses.

The question of BROADENING PUBLICITY is a matter of principle for us. And it is a political question, too. Without publicity there is not--and there cannot be--democratism, the political creativity of the masses, and their participation in management. This is, if you like, the guarantee of a state-like attitude to things, imbued with a sense of responsibility, on the part of tens of millions of workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia, and the starting point of the psychological reorganization of our cadres. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Sometimes, when publicity is being discussed, you can hear calls for more caution when talking about our shortcomings, omissions, and difficulties which are inevitable in all work in life. There can only be one answer to that: Lenin's answer. Communists always, and in all circumstances, need the truth. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) The experience of the past year has shown how decisively the Soviet people support the uncompromising evaluation of everything that is preventing us from going forward. But those who are used to working in a slipshod way and who engage in eyewash do indeed feel uncomfortable in the light of publicity, when everything being done by the state and society is under the control of the people, and in the sight of the people. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) Therefore, we have to make publicity a system that is unfailing in

its operation. It is necessary in the center, but it is no less necessary--and perhaps even more so--at the places where a man lives and works. He wants to and should know not only what is being decided at the state level, but what decisions are being made by local party and soviet organs, by the management of the enterprises and by the trade unions.

The whole arsenal OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND PERSONAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF THE SOVIET MAN should serve the tasks of expanding and further developing socialist democracy. The party and state regard it as their foremost duty to defend these rights and freedoms and strengthen their guarantees. But the essence of socialism is such that the rights of the citizen do not exist, and cannot exist, without his duties, just as there are no duties without rights.

It is essential to raise the activity of the workers, each and every one, in creative work: in overcoming shortcomings, abuses, and any unhealthy phenomena of deviation from the norms of our law and morality. Democracy was and is a most important linchpin in STRENGTHENING SOCIALIST LEGALITY, and the firm legality is an inalienable part of our democracy.

Recently, quite a lot of work has been carried out to strengthen law and order in all spheres of society. However, efforts in this direction cannot be weakened to any extent. The quality of Soviet laws is to be further improved. Our legislation--civil and labor, financial and administrative, economic and criminal--must be used more vigorously to help in the introduction of methods of economic management, to ensure effective control over work and consumption, and to put the principles of social justice into practice.

We should persistently raise the responsibility of law enforcement and other bodies; strengthen the juridical service in soviets and in the national economy, strengthen the State Board of Arbitration; and perfect the legal education of the population. The use of the full force of Soviet laws in the struggle against crime and other infringements of the law remains a constant task; so that people in any population center can feel the state's concern for their peace and inviolability--so that they will be assured that not one lawbreaker will escape the punishment he deserves. (APPLAUSE)

The democratic principles of justice, the equality of citizens before the laws, and other guarantees securing the defense of the interests of the state and each citizen must be observed in the strictest way. In connection with this, it is essential to decisively expand the role of supervision by public prosecutor's offices, to perfect the work of the courts and the legal profession, and, in the near future, to finish the work on the law, as provided for in the Constitution, on the procedures for appealing to the court against the illegal actions of officials encroaching on the rights of citizens. It is natural that the more actively party and soviet bodies--the trade unions and the Komsomol, labor collectives, volunteer militia groups, all the forces of our society--are included in this work, the more complete the provisions of legality and law and order will be.

Under the conditions of a buildup of subversive activity by the special services of imperialism against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the responsibility borne by THE ORGANS OF STATE SECURITY is growing

considerably. Under party guidance and in strict observance of Soviet laws, they are carrying out great work in exposing hostile intrigues, stopping all kinds of subversive acts, and guarding the sacred borders of our homeland. We are convinced that Soviet Chekists and border guards will always rise to the demands made of them, will display vigilance, endurance, and firmness in the struggle against any encroachments on our state and social system. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Taking into account the complicated international situation, and the growing aggression of reactionary imperialist circles, the CPSU Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo are devoting unremitting attention to THE COUNTRY'S DEFENSE CAPABILITY, THE COMBAT MIGHT OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES, and to strengthening military discipline. The Soviet Army and Navy have modern weaponry and technology at their disposal as well as well-trained personnel, and trained command and political cadres wholeheartedly dedicated to the people. They worthily perform their duty in the most complex and at times harsh conditions. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) We can say today with full responsibility the USSR's defense might is maintained at a level which allows it to reliably protect the peaceful labor and peaceful lives of Soviet people. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

The party and state have striven, and continue to strive, to ensure that the Soviet serviceman, both soldier and officer, should always feel the concern and attention of society in carrying out his difficult service, and that our Army should be a school for instilling civil responsibility, courage, and patriotism. (APPLAUSE)

It goes without saying, comrades, that here at the congress we are only outlining the overall frameworks, the main contours for perfecting our democracy, state system, and the entire soviet political system. Fulfillment of the decisions of the congress will undoubtedly bring new manifestations of popular initiative and new forms of the sociopolitical creativity of the masses. (APPLAUSE)

IV. Basic Objectives and Directions of the Party's Foreign Policy Strategy

Comrades! The fundamental tasks of the country's economic and social development also determine the CPSU's international strategy. Its main objective is perfectly clear: to provide the Soviet people with the opportunity to work in conditions of lasting peace and freedom. Such, essentially, is the party's primary program requirement for our foreign policy. In the present situation its fulfillment means, first and foremost, putting a stop to material preparations for a nuclear war.

Having thoroughly evaluated the situation which has developed, the CPSU has advanced an integral program for the complete liquidation of mass-destruction weapons before the end of the present century, a program which is historic in its scope and importance. Its implementation would open up before mankind a principally different phase of development and an opportunity to concentrate on constructive work and nothing else.

As you know, we have addressed our proposals, not just through the traditional diplomatic channels, but also directly to world public opinion, to the peoples, and the time has come to fully understand the grim reality of our times: nuclear weapons conceal within them a tornado which is capable of sweeping the human race from the face of the earth. Our address emphasizes yet again the open, honest, Leninist nature of the CPSU's foreign policy strategy.

Socialism unreservedly rejects war as a means of settling interstate political and economic differences and ideological disputes. Our ideal is a world without weapons and coercion, a world in which every people may choose its path of development and its way of life freely. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) This is an expression of the humanism of communist ideology and its moral values. That is why THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE NUCLEAR DANGER AND THE ARMS RACE AND FOR MAINTAINING AND STRENGTHENING UNIVERSAL PEACE will remain in the future the main trend of the Party's activity in the world arena.

There is no alternative to this policy. This is even truer in a period of exacerbation in international affairs. Never, perhaps, in the postwar decades has the situation in the world been as explosive, and hence more difficult and unfavorable, as in the first half of the eighties. The rightwing group which has come to power in the United States and its main fellow travellers in NATO have turned sharply away from detente to a military policy of force. They have armed themselves with doctrines which reject neighborliness and cooperation as principles of world development and as a political philosophy in international relations. The Washington administration has remained deaf to our calls to halt the arms race and make the situation more healthy.

Perhaps it isn't worth harping on the past, especially now, when it seems that signs of a change for the better are appearing in Soviet-U.S. relations, and when realistic tendencies are again becoming visible in the acts and mood and leadership of some NATO countries? We consider that it is worth it, since the sharp cooling of the international climate in the first half of the eighties reminded us once again that nothing happens of its own accord. Peace has to be fought for--fought for persistently and purposefully. (APPLAUSE) It is necessary to search for, find, and use even the smallest chance in order to break--while it is still possible--the trend of growing military danger. Realizing this, the CPSU Central Committee again analyzed the nature and scale of the nuclear threat at its April plenum and determined practical steps which could lead to an improvement in the situation. We based ourselves on the following principled considerations:

FIRSTLY: The nature of today's weapons leaves the no state any hope of defending itself with military-technical means alone--let's say, by creating a defense [system], even the most powerful. Ensuring security is more and more taking the form of a political task, and it can only be solved by political means. (APPLAUSE) First and foremost the will to go along the path of disarmament is needed. Security cannot be built forever on a fear of retribution, that is, on the doctrine of "restraint or deterrent." To say nothing of the absurdity and immorality of a situation when the whole world becomes a nuclear hostage, these doctrines encourage the arms race which sooner or later is capable of getting out of control.

SECONDLY, security, when one speaks of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, can only be universal if one considers international relations as a whole. The highest wisdom is not in only worrying about oneself, or, all the more, about damaging the other side; it is necessary for all to feel that they are equally secure, because the terrors and alarms of the nuclear age give rise to unpredictability in policy and specific actions. Taking the critical significance of the time factor into account is becoming very important. The emergence of new weapons systems for mass annihilation is steadfastly reducing the time and restricting the opportunities for adopting political decisions on issues of war and peace in the event of crises.

THIRDLY, the United States and its military-industrial machine, which so far does not intend to slow its pace, remain the locomotive of militarism. This must of course be taken into account. But we understand very well that the interests and goals of the military-industrial complex are by no means the same as the interests and goals of the U.S. people and genuine national interests of that great country.

The world is naturally much larger than the United States and its bases of occupation abroad, and in world politics one must not just restrict oneself to relations with just one country, even if it is a very important one. As experience shows, this only encourages the arrogance of strength. But of course, we attach great importance to the state and nature of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Our countries have many points of contact, and there is an objective need to live in peace with each other, to cooperate on an equal and mutually beneficial basis, but only an equal and mutually beneficial one. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

FOURTHLY, the world is in the middle of a process of rapid change, and nobody is capable of preserving an eternal status quo in it. It consists of many dozens of states, each of which has its own, quite legitimate interests. All of them are without exception faced with a fundamental task; that of mastering the science and the art of behaving with restraint and circumspection in the international arena, living in a civilized way, that is, in conditions of correct international intercourse and cooperation, without turning a blind eye to social, political, and ideological contradictions. But in order to bring this cooperation out into the wide expanses, a comprehensive system of international economic security is also necessary, which would defend every state equally from discrimination, sanctions, and other attributes of imperialist neo-colonialist policies. Such a system is capable, alongside disarmament, of becoming a reliable buttress of international security in general. (APPLAUSE)

In a word, the contemporary world has become too small and fragile for wars and policies of force. It is impossible to save and preserve it unless a resolute and irrevocable break is made in the way of thinking and acting which for centuries was based on the acceptability and admissibility of wars and armed conflict.

This means realizing that it is already impossible to win the arms race, just as it is impossible to win nuclear war itself. Continuing such a race on

earth and, still more, spreading it into space will step up the already critically high pace of accumulation and improvement in nuclear weapons. The situation in the world could become such that it would no longer depend on the reason or will of politicians; it will find itself in the captivity of technology and of military and technocratic logic. Consequently, not only nuclear war itself but also preparation for it--that is, the arms race IS AN INSPIRATION TO MILITARY SUPERIORITY AND CANNOT OBJECTIVELY BRING POLITICAL GAIN TO ANYONE.

Further, this means, realizing that the present level of the balance of nuclear potentials between the opposing sides is inordinately high. At present it provides EQUAL DANGER to each of them, but only for the moment. Continuing the nuclear arms race will inevitably increase this equal danger and could take it to such a point that even parity will cease to be a factor in military and political restraint. Therefore, it is essential above all to considerably reduce the level of military confrontation. In our time genuine equal security is guaranteed not only by the highest possible, but by the lowest possible level of strategic balance from which it is essential to exclude nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction entirely. (APPLAUSE)

Finally, that means recognizing that in the present situation there is no alternative to cooperation and interaction among all states. Thus, objective conditions--and I stress objective--have arisen in which the confrontation between capitalism and socialism can take place ONLY, AND EXCLUSIVELY IN THE FORM OF PEACEFUL COMPETITION AND PEACEFUL RIVALRY.

For us, peaceful coexistence is a political course which the Soviet Union intends to rigorously keep to in the future. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) Ensuring the continuity of its foreign policy strategy, the CPSU will pursue an active international policy which proceeds from the realities of the modern world. Of course, it is not possible to solve the problem of international security with one or two even very intensive peace offensives. Only consistent, systematic, and persistent work can bring success.

Continuity in foreign policy has nothing in common with the simple repetition of what has already been covered, especially in approaching problems which have mounted up. What is needed is particular accuracy in evaluating one's own possibilities, restraint, and the highest responsibility when making decisions. Firmness in upholding principles and positions is necessary, as is tactical flexibility and the readiness of for mutually acceptable compromises--the aim being not confrontation but dialogue and mutual understanding.

As you know, we have undertaken a series of unilateral steps. We introduced a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe; we reduced the number of them and suspended all nuclear explosions. In Moscow and abroad conversations have been conducted with the leaders and members of governments of many states in the world. The Soviet-Indian, Soviet-French, and Soviet-U.S. summit meetings have been necessary and useful steps.

The Soviet Union has made active efforts, striving to lend fresh impetus to the talks in Geneva, Stockholm, and Vienna, the aim of which is to curtail the arms race and strengthen trust among states. Talks are always a delicate matter, not a simple one. The main thing here is to move toward a mutually acceptable balance of interests. To transform mass destruction weapons into objects of political machinations is at the very least immoral, and politically it is irresponsible.

Finally, there is our 15 January statement. On the whole, our program is in essence a fusion of the philosophy of shaping the security of the world in the nuclear and space age with a platform of specific actions. The Soviet Union proposes that the problem of disarmament be approached in its entirety, because as far as security is concerned one thing is connected with another. It is not a matter of rigid linkages, or attempts to "give way" in one direction in order to put up barricades in another. The matter is precisely of a plan of specific actions with strictly calculated times. The Soviet Union intends to persistently strive for its realization, viewing this as THE CENTRAL DIRECTION OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY IN THE FORTHCOMING YEARS. (APPLAUSE)

SOVIET MILITARY DOCTRINE is being drawn up in full accordance with the letter and spirit of the initiatives put forward. Its orientation is unequivocally one of defense. In the military sphere we intend to act in the future so that no one has any ground for fears, even if they are imagined, for their security. But both we and our allies to an equal degree want to be delivered from the feeling of the threat which has come to hang over us. The Soviet Union has taken upon itself the obligation not to use nuclear weapons first, and will abide by it in the strictest manner. (APPLAUSE) But is no secret that scenarios for a nuclear attack on us do exist. We have no right to not take them into account. The Soviet Union is a highly convinced opponent of nuclear war in any of its forms. Our country stands for taking weapons of mass destruction out of circulation, and restricting military potential within the bounds of reasonable sufficiency. But the nature and level of those bounds continue to be limited by the positions and actions of the United States and its bloc partners. In these conditions, we repeat again and again: THE SOVIET UNION LAYS NO CLAIM TO GREATER SECURITY, BUT WILL NOT SETTLE FOR LESS. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

I would like to focus attention on the problems of verification [kontrol], to which we attach particular significance. We have frequently declared: The USSR is open to verification [kontrol]. We have an interest in it, no less than others. Comprehensive and very rigorous inspection [proverka] is, perhaps, one of the most important elements in the process of disarmament. The essence of the matter, as we see it, is as follows: DISARMAMENT WITHOUT VERIFICATION [KONTROL] IS IMPOSSIBLE, BUT ALSO VERIFICATION [KONTROL] WITHOUT DISARMAMENT IS MEANINGLESS. (APPLAUSE)

And one other fundamental point: We have expressed our attitude to "star wars" in detail. The United States has already involved many allies in that program. The matter threatens to take on an irreversible character. It is absolutely essential to look for realistic solutions which WOULD PREVENT THE TRANSFER OF THE ARMS RACE INTO SPACE before it is too late. The "star wars" program must not be allowed to be used both as a stimulus for a further arms

race and as an obstruction on the road to radical disarmament. Tangible progress in matters pertaining to acute reduction in nuclear capacities could be of serious assistance in overcoming this obstacle. This is why the Soviet Union is ready to make a real step in this direction--to resolve the issue of medium-range missiles in the European zone separately and not in direct connection with problems of strategic weapons and space.

The Soviet program has been enthusiastically taken up by millions of people. The interest of politicians and public figures in it continues to grow. Now times are such that it is difficult to brush it aside. Attempts to cast doubt on the Soviet Union's businesslike interest in accelerating, transferring onto practical lines, the solution of the pressing problem of our time--the abolition of nuclear weapons--are becoming less and less convincing. Nuclear disarmament cannot remain the monopoly of politicians. This is what the whole world is reflecting upon today, for it concerns life itself.

But one should also take into account the reaction of the center of power, which holds the key to the success or failure of the disarmament talks. Of course, the U.S. ruling class, or to be more precise, its most egoistic groups tied up with the military-industrial complex, has different and clearly opposite aims from our own. For them disarmament means a loss in profits, a political risk. For us it means good in all respects: economic, political, moral. (APPLAUSE)

We know our main opponents. We have built up complex and lengthy experience in relations and talks with them. We received a response from President Reagan to our 15 January statement. The U.S. side has begun putting forward its ideas in greater detail at the Geneva talks. Of course we will attentively study everything that the Americans submit on these questions. But since the response was received literally on the eve of the congress' opening, the U.S. Administration, or at least this is what we suppose, is obviously calculating that the world would find out our attitude to the U.S. position from this very rostrum.

I can say right away that the President's letter gives no foundation for any amendment of the appraisals of the world situation laid down in the report prior to receiving the message. It says that the elimination of nuclear weapons is the goal toward which all nuclear powers should strive. In the letter the President agrees in general with some of the Soviet attitudes and intentions on questions of disarmament and security. In other words, the response does express some sort of reassuring opinions and attitudes.

But these positive pronouncements are lost in various kinds of reservations, "provisions" and "conditions" which, in fact, block the solution of fundamental disarmament problems. The reduction of strategic nuclear arsenals is made conditional on our agreement to "star wars" programs and, incidentally, on unilateral reductions in Soviet conventional weaponry. Problems of regional conflicts and bilateral relations are tied in with this as well. The elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe is blocked by references to the British and French positions and by a demand for our defense in the East of the country to be weakened while U.S. military forces in this region would be maintained. A refusal to halt nuclear tests is justified by

expatiations to the effect that nuclear weapons serve as a "restraining factor." Here there is a direct contradiction with the aim, corroborated in the letter, that it is necessary to eliminate nuclear weapons. It is precisely in the question of nuclear explosions, the halting of which is demanded by the whole world, that the unwillingness of the United States and its ruling forces to take the path of nuclear disarmament is displayed in its most naked form.

In a word, without going into details, it is difficult to observe a serious readiness on the part of the U.S. leadership to embark in reality on the solution of the cardinal problems of the elimination of the nuclear threat in the document which we have just received. It seems that Washington--and not just Washington--has come to like nuclear weapons, and is linking them with their plans in the international arena. But nevertheless, whether they want to or not, the politicians in the West will have to answer the question: Are they at all prepared to part with nuclear weapons? (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

In accordance with the accord which was reached in Geneva, a new meeting with the U.S. President lies ahead. We see its significance in providing practical results to the very important aspects of limiting and reducing armaments. There are at least two questions on which an accord could be reached--the halting of nuclear tests and the elimination of U.S. and Soviet medium-range missiles in the European zone. Then, incidentally, if there is a readiness to seek agreement, the question of the dates of the meeting will resolve itself. We will accept any proposal on this score. But there is no point in carrying on idle conversations. We will not remain unconcerned if the Soviet-U.S. dialogue which has arisen and which inspires certain and not unfounded hopes for changes for the better is used for the continuation of the arms race and material preparation for war. The Soviet Union is firmly disposed to justify the hopes of the peoples of our two countries, and of the whole world, which awaits concrete steps, practical actions, real accords [realnyye dogovorenosti] on how to check the arms race from the Soviet and U.S. leaders. We are prepared for this. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Like any other country, we naturally attach great significance to the security of our borders, both land and sea. We have many and different neighbors; we have no territorial claims against any of them; we threaten none of them; but as life has confirmed more than once, there are more than a few who, without taking account of the national interests of our country or of the states neighboring us, would aspire to aggravate the situation on the borders of the Soviet Union.

For example, counterrevolution and imperialism have turned Afghanistan into a running sore. The Soviet Union supports the efforts of this country which are directed at the defense of its own sovereignty. We would like in the very near future [uzhe v samom blizkom budushchem] to bring the Soviet forces--situated in Afghanistan at the request of its government--back to their homeland. The time scale [sroki] for their step-by-step withdrawal has been worked out with the Afghan side, as soon as a political settlement has been achieved which will provide for a real end to, and reliably guarantee a non-renewal of, outside armed interference in the internal affairs of the U.A. (APPLAUSE) Our vital national interest lies in unfailingly good and peaceful

relations with all states bordering on the Soviet Union. This is an essentially important aim of our foreign policy. (APPLAUSE)

The CPSU considers one of the basic sectors of its foreign policy to be the EUROPEAN one. Europe's historic chance, its future, lies in peaceful cooperation of the states of that continent. And it is important, while preserving the capital that has been built up, to move forward from the initial phase of detente to a more stable, mature detente, and then to the creation of reliable security on the basis of the Helsinki process and of radical cuts in nuclear and conventional arms.

The ASIAN AND PACIFIC SECTOR is of growing importance. In that extensive region there are many tangled knots and contradictions. The political situation in individual places is unstable. This is where it is necessary for them to find solutions and paths without delay. Evidently, a beginning should be made with the coordination, with the uniting efforts in the interests of a political settlement of troublesome questions, so that, working in parallel on that basis, at least the acuteness of military confrontation in different areas of Asia might be removed and the situation there be stabilized.

And that is all the more urgent, since in Asia and in other continents THE SPARKS THAT COULD LEAD TO WAR have not gone out. We are in favor of stepping up a collective search for ways to solve conflict situations in the Near and Middle East, in Central America and southern Africa, and in all the seething points of the planet. This is what the interests of universal security insistently demand.

Crises and conflicts are also fertile ground for international terrorism. Undeclared wars, the export of counterrevolution in all its forms, political assassinations, hostage taking, aircraft hijacking, explosions in streets, airports, or railway stations--this is the loathsome face of terrorism, which those inspiring it try to disguise with various kinds of cynical fabrications. The Soviet Union rejects terrorism in principle, and is prepared for effective cooperation with other states in order to root it out. The Soviet Union will resolutely protect its citizens from acts of violence, and will do all it can to protect their lives, honor and dignity. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Looking back on the past year, one cannot fail to see that the preconditions for an improvement in the international situation are, judging by everything, beginning to form. But the preconditions for a change are not yet the change itself. The arms race continues and the threat of nuclear war remains. However, international reaction is by no means all-powerful. The development of the world revolutionary process and the rise of mass democratic and antiwar movements have considerably expanded and strengthened THE ENORMOUS POTENTIAL OF PEACE, REASON, AND GOOD WILL. This is a powerful counterweight to the aggressive policies of imperialism. (APPLAUSE)

Today the destinies of peace and social progress are tied up more closely than ever with the dynamism of THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST WORLD SYSTEM. The requirement for such dynamism is dictated by a concern for the well-being of the peoples. But it is also necessary to the socialist world from the point of view of countering the danger of war.

Finally, there is in this a demonstration of the possibilities of the socialist way of life. Both friends and enemies look upon us, the immense, many-faced world of the developing countries looks upon us, seeking its choice, its path. What this choice will be depends to large extent on the successes of socialism, on the credibility of its responses to the challenge of the times.

We are convinced of the ability of socialism to resolve its most complex tasks. Vitally important for this is ever more energetic cooperation, which provides an effect not simply of combination, but also of multiplication of our potentials, and serves as a stimulus for the acceleration of the common progressive movement. This is also reflected in the joint documents of the countries of the socialist community.

Interaction between the ruling communist parties remains THE HEART OF THEIR POLITICAL COOPERATION. Over the past year, there has hardly been a single fraternal country with whose leadership we have not had meetings and thorough conversations. The actual forms of this cooperation are also being renewed. A new, and probably a key, link in this, the institution of multilateral working meetings of leaders of the fraternal countries, is taking shape. They provide the opportunity for up to the minute and comradely consultations on the whole complex of problems of socialist construction and its domestic and foreign aspects.

In the difficult international situation, the extension of the WARSAW PACT, by the unanimous decision of its participants, has acquired great significance. This treaty was, as it were, reborn. Today it would be difficult to imagine world politics as a whole without it. Take the Sofia conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. It became a kind of threshold of the Geneva dialogue.

In the ECONOMY, an integrated program of scientific-technical progress has been adopted. Its purport is the transition of the CEMA countries to a coordinated scientific-technical policy. In our view, what is required are changes in the activity of the very headquarters of socialist integration--CEMA. But the main thing is to ensure that in the implementation of the program there should be less bureaucratic administration by all kinds of committees and commissions, and more attention paid to economic levers, initiative, and socialist enterprise in involving labor collectives in this process. (APPLAUSE) This will be a profoundly party-like approach, vital to such a unique undertaking. (APPLAUSE)

Energy, businesslike attitudes and initiative--all these qualities meet the requirements of the time, and we will try to see to it that they are spread to the whole system of relations between the fraternal parties. The CPSU attaches increasing importance to lively, broad contact among the citizens of the socialist countries, people of different professions and different generations. This is a source of mutual spiritual enrichment, a channel of exchange of opinions, ideas, and EXPERIENCE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. Today it is particularly important, on the basis of the development not of one, but of a number of countries, to analyze the nature of the socialist way of life, to comprehend the processes of perfecting democracy, method of management, and

cadres policy. Having a solicitous and respectful attitude to each other's experience, and applying it in practice, is an enormous asset of the socialist world. (APPLAUSE)

Generally speaking, one of the advantages of socialism is its ability to learn--to learn to solve the problems that are posed by life; to learn to avert crisis situations, which our class opponent tries to create and exploit; to learn to oppose attempts to divide the socialist world into layers and set countries against each other; to learn to prevent clashes of interests of different socialist states, to bring about mutual harmony of these interests and to find mutually acceptable solutions to even the most difficult problems.

It appears to us that it is worth looking closely at mutual relations in the world of socialism as a whole. We do not believe that the community [sodruzhestvo] is divided by any kind of barriers from other socialist countries. The CPSU is for honest, frank relations with all communist parties, all states of the world socialist system, and for a comradely exchange of views with them. We strive to see first and foremost what unites the socialist world. (APPLAUSE) That is why Soviet Communists are gladdened by every step on the way toward the rapprochement of all socialist states, by every positive movement in relations between them.

One can speak with satisfaction of a certain improvement in the Soviet Union's relations with its great neighbor, SOCIALIST CHINA. (APPLAUSE) Differences in approaches remain, particularly toward a series of international problems. There is, however, something else we note: the possibility in many cases of working jointly, of acting together on the basis of principle and equal rights without prejudice to third countries.

There is no need to elucidate the significance of this. The Chinese Communists called the victory by the Soviet Union and the forces of progress in World War II the prologue to the victory of the people's revolution in China. In its turn, the formation of People's China facilitated the strengthening of socialism's world positions and the foiling of many of imperialism's designs and actions in the most difficult postwar years. Thinking of the future, one can say that the reserves for cooperation between the Soviet Union and China are enormous. They are great because such cooperation is in the interests of both countries and because that which is most dear to our peoples--socialism and peace--are indivisible. (APPLAUSE)

THE CPSU IS AN INDISSOLUBLE PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. We Soviet Communists understand very well that each one of our victories in socialist construction is a victory of the whole movement. Therefore, the CPSU sees as its main international duty the successful progress of our country along the path opened up and laid down by October.

The communist movement in the nonsocialist part of the world remains the main object of political pressure and persecution on the part of bourgeoisie reactionary circles. All the fraternal parties find themselves under the constant fire of anticommunist propaganda, which does not balk at the most shameful ways and means. Many parties act underground, in a situation of real persecution and repression. The Communists cannot take a single step without

struggle, which demands personal courage. Allow me, comrades, on behalf of the 27th congress, on behalf of the Soviet Communists, to express feelings of genuine admiration at the selfless struggle of our comrades, and deep fraternal solidarity with them. (STORMY APPLAUSE)

In the past few years the communist movement has come up against many new realities, tasks, and problems. Everything points to the fact that it has embarked on a qualitatively new stage of development. The international conditions for the work of the Communists are changing quickly and profoundly. A significant reshaping of the social structure of bourgeois society is taking place, including in the composition of the working class. Our friends in the young independent states are faced with difficult problems. The scientific and technological revolution is having a contradictory effect on the material situation and the consciousness of the working people of the nonsocialist world. All this demands an ability to rethink many things, and demands a bold, creative approach to new realities on the basis of the immortal teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The CPSU knows this well from its own experience.

The immense variety in the communist movement and tasks facing it are also a reality. Sometimes this leads to differences and disagreements. The CPSU does not dramatize the fact that there is not always total unanimity among communist parties. Obviously, there cannot be an identity of views on all issues without exception. The communist movement was formed when the working class came onto the international arena as an independent and powerful political force. The parties that make it up, having grown up on their national soil, pursue a common ultimate goal: peace and socialism. That is the main and definitive thing which unifies them. (APPLAUSE)

We consider that the variety of our movement is not a synonym for disjointedness, just as unity has nothing in common with uniformity, with a hierarchy, with interference by some parties in the affairs of others, with an aspiration by any part for a monopoly on truth. The communist movement can and must be strong through its class solidarity, and the equal cooperation of all fraternal parties in the struggle for common goals. That is how the CPSU understands unity, and it intends to foster it in every way. (APPLAUSE)

The tendency for the potential of peace, reason, and good will to become stronger is a steady one, and in principle it is irreversible. Behind it is the desire of people of all peoples, to live in harmony and cooperation. However, one must look at things soberly. The correlation of forces in the struggle against war is forming in the course of an acute and dynamic confrontation between progress and reaction. The solidarity of the CPSU with the forces of national and social liberation, and our line of close cooperation with socialist-oriented countries, with revolutionary-democratic parties, and with the Nonaligned Movement, continue to be invariable. The Soviet public is prepared to continue developing links with non-communist tendencies and organizations, including religious ones, which come out against war.

It is from this point of view that the CPSU also regards its relations with SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. It goes without saying that the ideological differences between Communists and Social Democrats are deep; their experience and their

achievements are not the same and are not of equal value. However, an unprejudiced familiarization with each other's positions and views is undoubtedly useful both for Communists and Social Democrats; it is primarily useful for stepping up the struggle for peace and international security. (APPLAUSE)

We live in the real world, and we construct our international policy taking into account the specific features of the present stage of international development. A creative analysis of this and our view of the future have brought us to the very considerable conclusion: Today it is more important than ever before to find ways for closer and more productive cooperation with governments, parties, public organizations and movements which are really concerned about the fate of peace on earth and with all peoples in order TO CREATE A COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

The fundamental PRINCIPLES of such a system could be presented in the following way:

IN THE MILITARY SPHERE: A renunciation by the nuclear powers of either nuclear or conventional war against each other or against third states; the prevention of an arms race in space, the cessation of all nuclear weapons testing and the total elimination of these weapons, the banning and elimination of chemical weapons, renunciation of the creation [sozdaniye] of other means of mass extermination; a strictly verified [kontrolliruyemoye] reduction in the level of the military potentials of states to a reasonable sufficiency; the disbanding of military groupings and, as a step toward this, the renunciation of any expansion of them and of forming any new ones; and a proportional, balanced reduction in military budgets.

IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE: Unconditional respect in international practice for the right of every people to choose the paths and forms of its development; the just political settlement of international crises and regional conflicts; the drawing up of a complex of measures aimed at building confidence between states; the creation of effective guarantees against attacks upon states from outside and the inviolability of their frontiers; and the drawing up of effective methods for preventing international terrorism, including security for the use of international land, air, and sea communications.

IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE: The exclusion from international practice of all forms of discrimination, and the abrogation of the policy of economic blockades and sanctions where this is not provided for directly by recommendations of the world community; a joint search for ways toward a just settlement of debt problems; the establishment of a new world economic order guaranteeing the equal economic security of all states; the drawing up of principles for the use of part of the funds which will be released as a result of reductions in military budgets for the good of the world community, and first and foremost of the developing countries; and the uniting of efforts in the research and peaceful utilization of space and the solution of the global problems on which the fate of civilization depends.

IN THE HUMANITARIAN SPHERE: Cooperation in the dissemination of the ideas of peace, disarmament, and international security, and the raising of the level of general objective knowledge about and of the mutual familiarity of peoples with each others' lives, and the strengthening of a spirit of mutual understanding and harmony in relations between them; the eradication of genocide, apartheid, the propagation of fascism and of any other racial, national or religious exclusiveness, as well as discrimination by people on this basis; the expansion, while respecting the laws of every country, of international cooperation in the implementation of the political, social, and personal rights of man; the solution in a humane and positive spirit of questions of the reunification of families; of marriages and of the development of contacts between people and organizations; and the strengthening of the search for new forms of cooperation in the spheres of culture, art, science, education, and medicine.

These bases emerge logically from the provisions of the CPSU Program. They conform totally with our specific foreign policy initiatives. Guided by them, it would be possible for peaceful coexistence to become the supreme and universal principle of interstate relations. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) In our view the foundations could become a point of departure, a kind of framework for a direct systematic dialogue of the leaders of the countries of the world community--both bilateral and multilateral.

And if it is a matter of the fate of the world, such a dialogue is particularly important among the permanent members of the Security Council--the five nuclear powers. On them lies the main burden of responsibility for the fate of mankind. I stress, not privilege, not a basis for claims to leadership in world affairs, but responsibility about which no one has the right to forget. Why, then, can their leaders not gather at a round the table and discuss what is possible and necessary to do for strengthening peace? (APPLAUSE)

In our view the whole mechanism which has come into being for negotiations on arms limitations must begin to work to achieve a maximum return. Can one become "accustomed" to the fact that, as if on parallel course, such negotiations continue for years, and at the same time, the buildup in arms is going on?

The Soviet Union devotes much attention to joint examination at international forums, including within the framework of the Helsinki process, of problems and prospects for the international economy, mutual links between disarmament, development, and expansion of trade, and scientific and technical cooperation. In the future, we would consider it an important matter to convene a WORLDWIDE CONGRESS ON THE PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC SECURITY, where everything that burdens the world's economic links could be discussed as a whole [v komplekse].

We are also ready to seriously examine any other proposals which move in this direction.

Success in the battle against war must be achieved without fail; success which will become a historic victory of the whole of mankind--of every man on earth.

The CPSU sees the very essence of its foreign policy strategy in active participation in this battle. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

V. The Party

Comrades! The scale and newness of the forthcoming matters make exceptionally high demands on the character of the political, ideological, and organizational activity of the CPSU, which today unites more than 19 million Communists, welded together by the unity of their objectives, will, and discipline. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

The strength of the party lies in the fact that it has a feeling for the time, the pulse beat of life, and always acts in the interests of the masses. Every time the country faces new tasks, the party finds ways to solve them, rearranges and alters the methods of leadership, demonstrating an ability to rise to the historical responsibility for the country's fate and the cause of socialism and communism.

Life itself constantly tests our possibilities. The past year was, in this respect, special. As never before, cohesion in party ranks and unity of the Central Committee has been required. We have understood well that it is no longer possible to avoid problems that have come to a head in the development of society, to be reconciled to irresponsibility, failure to be exacting, and to inertia. Under these conditions, the Politburo, the Central Committee Secretariat, and the Central Committee embarked on resolving cardinal questions dictated by the time. The April Central Committee Plenum became a most important landmark on this route. We told the people honestly about the difficulties and omissions in our work, about the plans for the very near future and the long-term. Today at the congress it is possible to state with confidence that the line of the April Plenum has met with the active support of Communists and millions of working people. (APPLAUSE)

The present stage, the stage of the qualitative transformation of society, demands from the party and from each of its organizations new efforts, a principled attitude toward the assessment of one's own activity, a businesslike approach, and selflessness. The draft of the edition of the party program and of changes to the CPSU Statutes presented to the congress proceeds from the position that only the party is capable of resolving the task of mobilizing all acceleration factors, a party living by the interests of the people, a party which has a scientifically-based outlook, confirming through its work the confidence that the set goals will be achieved.

The party can successfully resolve new tasks if it itself is in a state of continuous development, free from a complex of "infallibility," and critically appraises the results achieved and clearly sees what has to be done. The scale and complexity of problems, the necessity to fully draw upon the lessons of the past without compromise--it is precisely these which dictate the new demands on cadres, and the whole style of work, its methods and nature.

Comrades, today we must concentrate on the practical organization of things, the placing and education of cadres and the party aktiv, and we must look on the whole of our activity with fresh eyes at all levels and in all echelons.

In this connection, I want to recall Lenin's words: "When the situation has changed, and we have to resolve tasks of a different sort, one must not then look back and try resolution by yesterday's method. Don't try it, it won't work." (APPLAUSE)

1. Working in a New Way, Enhancing the Role and Responsibility of the Party Organizations

The essence of reorganizing party work lies in every party organization--from republic to primary--actively fighting for the practical implementation of the lines of the April plenum, and living in an atmosphere of searching and renewal of forms and methods of its activity. This can only be achieved by the efforts of all Communists on the paths of utmost development of democracy within the party itself, and the realization at all levels of the principle of collective leadership, the evolution of criticism and self-criticism, and supervision to ensure a responsible attitude toward the matter at hand. Only then does the spirit of innovation arise, and stagnation and standstill become intolerable.

We are rightly indignant at shortcomings of all sorts and their specific perpetrators--people who neglect their obligations, and who are indifferent to public interests, the careless worker and the idler, the self-seeker and anonymous letter-writers, the bureaucrat and the bribe-taker. However, they live and work in a particular collective, town, village, in a given organization, and not somewhere away from us. So who, if not the collective and the Communists, should be saying at the top of their voice that in our labor society everyone is obliged to work conscientiously, and to live, strictly observing the norms of socialist communal life which are the same for everyone? (APPLAUSE) What and who is hindering this?

It is here that the task of enhancing the role of the party organization in every way looms large. It is not fitting for us Communists to lay blame on others. If the party organization lives a full life, based on principled relations, if Communists are busy with concrete deeds and not just talk on general themes, then success is assured. (APPLAUSE) It is not enough to see shortcomings and faults and to hold them up to shame. Everything must be done to eliminate them. THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS THE VANGUARD ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST IN GENERAL; IT IS EXPRESSED IN PRACTICAL DEEDS. (APPLAUSE)

A party life that is healthy, businesslike, varied in its specific manifestations and concerns, and characterized by openness and publicity for plans and decisions, by humanity, by the modesty of the Communists--that is what is needed today. We Communists are looked to as an example in everything, in work and behavior. We must live and work in such a way that the working man can say: Yes, that's a real Communist. And the brighter and cleaner life in the party's house is, the sooner we will cope with the difficult tasks that are typical for today's time of great change.

Taking the decisions of the April and subsequent plenums of the Central Committee as guidance, and working boldly and persistently, many party organizations are achieving good results. In determining the paths for onward movement, the CPSU Central Committee relies first and foremost on this

experience, and is striving for it to become the property of all. Thus, the decisions on accelerating scientific and technological progress are based to no small degree on the enterprising approach to these issues by the Leningrad party organization, on its experience in drafting programs for intensification, for integration of science and production, and in socioeconomic planning. To the merit of Ukrainian Party organizations is the creation of engineering centers and scientific-technological complexes, and their fruitful work in efficient utilization of secondary resources. The measures to form a unified agro-industrial complex were given a preliminary trial in Georgia and Estonia.

One could cite quite a few examples of a modern approach to matters. A feeling of new and active reconstruction in accordance with changed conditions is characteristic of the Belorussian, Latvian, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Krasnodar, Omsk, Ulyanovsk and other party organizations. This is demonstrated by many report-back and election meetings, conferences and republic congresses. They were notable for the businesslike way in which matters were raised, the interest of Communists in seeking out reserves and ways of accelerating our movement, and exactingness in assessing the work of elected bodies.

But the need for reconstruction was far from being recognized by everyone everywhere. There are still numerous organizations--and this was also confirmed by the report-back and election campaign--where the necessary inclination for serious, self-critical analysis and for extracting practical conclusions has not been felt as yet. Attachment to the old ways, a lack of feeling for the times, an inclination for over-organization, the habit of speaking in an evasive manner and fear of exposing the real state of affairs are showing through.

We will not be able to move ahead by even a single step unless we learn to work in a new way. We will not be able to overcome inertia and conservatism in any of their manifestations if we lose the courage to give a sober evaluation of the situation and see it as it is. In order that irresponsibility may become a thing of the past, we must make it a rule to call a spade a spade, to judge everything openly. It is high time to stop practicing misplaced tact when what is called for is exactingness, honesty and party conscience. No one has the right to forget Lenin's strict warning: "Falsehood and vain boasting mean moral ruin and a sure guarantee of political ruin."

One of the most important preconditions for the healthy life of every party organization is consistent execution of the PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVITY. It turns out, however, that in some organizations the role of plenums and bureaus as corporate bodies has been depreciated. Joint work on solutions has been replaced by unilateral decrees, which has often led to crude mistakes. Such deviations from the norms of party life were tolerated in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia. A principled evaluation was given at the congress of the republic Communist Party not only of the activity of the former first secretary, but also of those who conspired in lack of principle and servility.

Only strict observation and comprehensive strengthening of the principles of collective leadership can guard against subjectivist fantasies and create the prerequisites for the adoption of well-thought-out, justified decisions. A leader who understands this well has the right to count on long and productive work.

THE NEED TO DEVELOP CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM, TO INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OSTENTATION, is being felt more acutely than ever. We know from the recent past that in those places where criticism and self-criticism die out and where the analysis of the real situation in a true party spirit is replaced by talk of successes, all party activity is deformed; a situation is created of self-satisfaction, a feeling that one can do whatever one wishes with impunity. This leads to the most serious consequences. In the localities and even in the center there turned out to be no small number of officials with an unhealthy attitude to any criticism of themselves and who even persecute people who voice criticism.

The labor successes of Muscovites are well known. But one can say with certainty that they would have been considerably greater if the city party organization had not some time ago begun to lose the spirit of self-criticism and healthy dissatisfaction with what had been achieved, had self-satisfaction not manifested itself there. As noted at the city party conference, the leadership of the city party committee over-emphasized successes and avoided resolving complicated problems. It was precisely this that gave rise to self-satisfaction and removed the opportunity for a principled evaluation of serious shortcomings.

Perhaps the negative processes caused by the absence of criticism and self-criticism were manifested in their most acute form in Uzbekistan. The previous leadership of the republic lost contact with life and took it as a rule to speak only about achievements and to keep quiet about shortcomings; and any critical opinions aroused an irritated reaction. Within the republic party organization, discipline became weaker. Favor was shown to people whose only principle was lack of principle, interest in personal prosperity, and careerism. Toadyism--the unbridled eulogizing of "those of higher rank became widespread." All of this could not but affect matters. There was an acute worsening of the state of affairs in the economy and in the social sphere. All sorts of intrigues, misappropriations and bribery became widespread; there was crude violation of socialist legality.

Intervention by the CPSU Central Committee was needed in order to make the atmosphere more healthy. The republic was afforded comprehensive help. Many sectors of party, state and economic work were reinforced with staff. These measures received the approval and active support of the Communists and working people of Uzbekistan.

Something else is also causing concern. The shortcomings in the republic did not suddenly appear. They built up over the years and grew from small ones into large. Officials from all-union bodies, including officials of the Central Committee, went to Uzbekistan on more than one occasion, and they could not have failed to notice what was going on. The republic's working

people wrote indignantly about the improper practices to the central organs, but these signals did not receive due attention.

They did not receive it because at some stage individual republics, krais, oblasts and cities were removed from the sphere of criticism. In places this led to the appearance of untouchable rayons, collective and state farms, industrial enterprises and so forth. From all this one must draw a hard conclusion: IN THE PARTY THERE ARE NOT AND MUST NOT BE ORGANIZATIONS OUTSIDE CONTROL, CLOSED TO CRITICISM. THERE ARE NOT AND MUST NOT BE LEADERS PROTECTED FROM PARTY RESPONSIBILITY. (APPLAUSE)

This applies in equal measures to ministries and departments and to any institutions and organizations. The CPSU Central Committee considers it essential to have a resolute rise in the role of party committees, of ministries and departments, and to raise the level of their work in restructuring the activity of the management apparatus of industries as a whole. An examination of the reports of the party committees of a number of ministries to the Central Committee shows they are still very timidly and circumspectly using their right of monitoring, and are not acting as catalysts of the new in the struggle against narrow departmentalism, paperwork and red tape.

The party carries out political leadership, and determines the general prospects for development. It forms the main tasks in the socioeconomic and spiritual spheres of life. It engages in selection and distribution of personnel and overall supervision. As for the ways and means of deciding specific economic and sociocultural matters: here there is wide freedom of choice available to every organ of management, to the labor collective and to economic management cadres.

Perfecting the forms and methods of leadership, the party speaks resolutely against the fusion of the functions of party committees with the functions of state and public organs. This is not a simple question. In life it is sometimes difficult to decide on the boundary where the party control--the organization of implementation of the practical task--passes over to become small-minded tutelage and even substitute for state and economic organs. Of course each situation needs a specific approach. And here, a lot is defined by the political standards and maturity of leaders. The party will strive to construct its work in such a way that everybody at the section entrusted to him acts professionally, energetically, and without being afraid to take responsibility upon himself. Such is the principled, Leninist solution of this question, by which we have to be guided strictly at all levels of party activity.

2. For the Pure and Honest Nature of the Party Member and a Principled Cadres Policy

Comrades! The more consistently we draw the vast creative potential of the party into the cause of accelerating the development of Soviet society, the more apparent becomes the deep, well-founded character of the conclusion of the April plenum on THE NECESSITY OF RAISING THE INITIATIVE AND RESPONSIBILITY

OF CADRES AND THE IMPORTANCE OF A TIRELESS STRUGGLE FOR THE PURE AND HONEST IMAGE OF THE PARTY MEMBER.

The Communist Party is both the political and moral vanguard. In the course of the past 5 years its membership increased by 1.6 million people. Its roots in the working class and in all strata of society are becoming stronger and stronger. Out of every 100 new party members there are 59 workers, 26 specialists from various branches of the national economy, and four-fifths of all those recruited are youth.

On the whole the formation of the party composition and the increase of its membership is being carried out in accordance with the set norms, but as with any living matter, acceptance into the party requires further perfection. Some organizations accelerate the increase of party membership at the expense of its quality, and do not show exactingness towards those joining. Our task is to attend tirelessly to the purity of party ranks, to protect party reliability against casual people who join for careerist or any other selfish reasons.

It is also our duty to perfect further the ideological education of Communists, to strengthen the demand for the observation of party discipline, and the strict observation of requirements set by the rules. In each party organization, Communists themselves have to create the atmosphere of high demands which will exclude any possibility of contempt for party norms by anyone. In this connection it is necessary to support and disseminate the experience of many party organizations where regular reports-back by Communists before their comrades take place, where party character assessments are examined and approved at party meetings. This assists the strengthening of responsibility of all members of the party without exception before their organization.

We bear considerable costs because some comrades behave unworthily and commit shameful acts. Lately a number of leading workers have been released from their offices and expelled from the party for abuses of various kinds. Some of them have had criminal proceedings instigated against them. Events of this kind have taken place in Alma-Ata, Chimkent and some other oblasts and republics, as well as in ministries and departments. Such phenomena as a rule are engendered by violation of the party principles for the selection and education of the cadres, and control of their activity. Henceforth the party will decisively clear its ranks of all those who compromise the noble title of communist. (APPLAUSE)

I would like to speak once more at our congress about a BUSINESS-LIKE ATTITUDE. This is a fundamental issue. Any discord between what is said and what is done detracts from the main matter--the authority of the party policy--and cannot be tolerated in any form. The party of Communists is a party of unity between words and deeds. This should be remembered by every leader and every Communist. It is precisely by the unity of words and deeds that the Soviet people will judge our work.

Important decisions have been made and interesting ideas and proposals have been voiced, both in the center and locally, since the April plenum. But if

we analyze what, of all those things, has been put into practice, has been reflected in deeds, it turns out that side by side with undoubted advances a good deal is still stuck on its way to becoming practice. No reorganization, no breakthrough can take place unless every Communist--especially a leader--understands the enormous significance of practical deeds, which are the only things able to move life onward and to raise labor efficiency. Organizational work cannot be changed into phrasemongering and shop talk at numerous meetings and conferences.

One more thing: The party should declare a resolute and merciless war on bureaucracy. Vladimir Ilich Lenin considered the struggle against it to be particularly important at critical moments, at the time of the changing over from one system of administration to another, when the maximum businesslike attitude, speed and energy is required. Today bureaucracy is a serious obstacle on the path to solving our main task--the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the country and the fundamental reorganization of the management mechanism linked with it. This question cannot fail to cause anxiety; it requires conclusions. It is important here to bear in mind that bureaucratic distortions manifest themselves most strongly wherever a businesslike attitude, publicity and control from below are absent, and where accountability for assigned work is reduced.

Comrades! Many new, energetic workers of the modern mold have recently been put forward into responsible posts. The party will continue to pursue the line of combining experienced and young cadres in the leadership. Women are being more actively brought forward into leading positions. There are now more of them in party and soviet organs. The criteria for all advancements and transfers are one--the political and businesslike qualities, abilities and real achievements of a worker and his attitude to people. I consider it essential to stress this because some people have lost the party tradition of constant communication with rank and file Communists, with the workers--and this undermines the very essence of party work.

A leader who is closely linked to the masses, ideologically staunch, who thinks with initiative and is active--that is the kind of person needed today at the head of every party organization. (APPLAUSE) There is no need to remind you that it is with the figure of the leader, above all the party leader, that people connect all pluses and minuses of the specific, real lives they are living. It is by the secretary of the rayon committee, the city committee or oblast committee of the party that the ordinary worker judges the party committee and the party as whole.

Cadres who are devoted to the cause of the party, who are in the vanguard of the struggle for the implementation of the political line, are our main and most valuable asset. The party aktiv and all Communists must master the great traditions of Bolshevism, and must be educated in these traditions. (APPLAUSE) One must strive toward adherence to principle and party comradeship becoming immutable norms in the party, and in every one of its links. Only such a position can ensure the party's moral health, and that is a guarantee of the health of the whole of society.

3. Strengthening the Link Between Ideology and Life and Enriching Man's Spiritual World

Comrades! "One cannot be an ideological leader without theoretical work, just as one cannot be one without directing such work according to what the situation demands, without propagandizing the results of this theory." This is what Lenin taught us.

Marxism-Leninism is a very great revolutionary world view; it substantiated the most humane aim mankind has ever set for itself--the creation on earth of a just social order. It shows the way to a scientific study of social development as a single, law-governed process, in all its enormously varied aspects and contradictoriness; it teaches us to correctly understanding the nature and interaction of economic and political forces, to choose correct directions, forms, and methods of struggle, and to feel confidence at sharp turning points in history.

In all its activities, the CPSU takes as a premise that fidelity to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine lies in its creative development, on the basis of accumulated experience. At the focus of the party's theoretical thinking today is a complex set of problems ensuing from the present-day character of great change in development of our society and the world as a whole. The multifaceted task of acceleration and its interlinked political, economic, scientific-technological, social, cultural-spiritual and psychological aspects require further profound and comprehensive analysis. We are feeling a real need for serious philosophical generalization, for well-founded economic and social forecasting, and for profound historical research.

One cannot escape the fact that our philosophical and economic front, and social sciences as a whole, are in a state of what I would call a certain remoteness from life's requirements. On top of this, our planning and economic management bodies and other departments do not display due interest in implementing the rational proposals of social scientists.

The times demand posing the question of the broad involvement of social sciences in the concrete needs of practice, and it requires that social scientists should react responsively to the changes taking place in life, keep in sight new phenomena, and draw conclusions which are capable of giving practice the correct bearings. The only scientific concepts which are viable are those which come from practice and return to it enriched by profound generalizations and effective recommendations. Scholasticism, dogmatism and slavish adherence to doctrine have always been fetters for true growth of knowledge. They lead to stagnation of thought, and like a blank wall they separate science from life and hamper its development. Truth is gained not from declarations and injunctions. Truth is born in scientific discussions and disputes and tested in action. The Central Committee is in favor of a path of development of our social sciences which makes it possible to achieve weighty theoretical and practical results. (APPLAUSE)

The atmosphere of constructiveness that the party is asserting in all spheres of life is especially fruitful for the social sciences. We hope it will be actively used by our economists and philosophers, our lawyers and

sociologists, our historians and literary researchers for a bold and enterprising formulation of new problems and for creative theoretical work on them.

But the ideas themselves, however attractive they may be, still do not automatically form an integrated and active world view unless they are harnessed to the sociopolitical experience of the masses. SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY DRAWS ITS ENERGY AND EFFECTIVENESS FROM THE INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN PROGRESSIVE IDEAS AND THE PRACTICE OF THE NEW SOCIETY'S CONSTRUCTION.

The new draft CPSU Program defines the main guidelines for the party's ideological activity. These guidelines have been discussed at Central Committee plenums and at the all-union scientific-practical conference which was held in December 1984. I shall dwell on just some of them.

The most essential thing that the full force of party influence must be focused on today is the attainment of an understanding by every person of the acute nature of the moment we are living through, of the fact that it represents a turning-point. All our plans will remain hanging in mid-air if people are left indifferent and if we fail to arouse labor and public activity on the part of the masses, their energy and initiative. SWITCHING SOCIETY TO NEW TASKS AND DIRECTING THE CREATIVE POTENTIAL OF THE PEOPLE AND OF EVERY LABOR COLLECTIVE TO THE PERFORMANCE OF THESE TASKS IS THE PREREQUISITE CONDITION FOR ACCELERATING THE COUNTRY'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. (APPLAUSE)

It is an indisputable fact that a wise and true word has an enormously influential force. But its significance is multiplied a hundred fold if it is combined with political, economic, and social steps. This is why the only way one can eliminate wearisomely edifying sentiments is to fill slogans and exhortations with the living breath of life.

Divorcing words from a foundation that is anchored to the ground seriously devalues ideological efforts. However many lectures we give about sensitivity, criticizing callousness and bureaucracy, they will evaporate into thin air if you meet with coarseness in offices, in the street, and in the shops. However many talks we arrange about standards of good behavior, they will be of no use if they are not supported by the practical struggle for high standards in production, in communal living, and in human relations. However many articles we may write about social justice, good order, and discipline they will be fruitless if unaccompanied by energetic actions on the part of the labor collective or the consistent application of the law.

People must constantly see and feel the great truth of our ideology and the principled nature of our policies. Labor and the distribution of rewards must be organized in such a way, the laws and principles of socialist society must be so scrupulously observed, that every Soviet person should have a firm belief in our ideals and values. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) Housing, the supply of foodstuffs, the quality of consumer goods, the level of health care--all of this has the most direct effect on people's consciousness and moods. It is precisely from these positions that we must approach the whole complex of questions connected with the educative activity of party, local soviet, and public organizations.

In the struggle to speed up social and economic development, extremely favorable social conditions are being created for raising the effectiveness of ideological work. But one should not count on ideological-political, labor, and moral education thus becoming simpler. One should constantly bear in mind the fact that the situation today, no matter how favorable it is, still contains its contradictions and difficulties and no underestimations should be allowed to occur in the assessments.

The development of public awareness is always a complicated process but the unique features of the current stage have made many urgent problems particularly acute. In the first place, the very scale of the task of accelerating things shapes the social atmosphere, its nature, and its specific features. Not everyone has yet proved to be ready to understand and accept what is going on. Secondly, and it is important to stress this, the deceleration in social and economic development was a consequence of serious blunders not only in the sphere of economic leadership but also in ideological work.

It cannot be said that only a few words have been spoken on this subject, and the words have been true. But, in practice, purposeful educative work has frequently been replaced by far-fetched campaigns which distance propaganda from life, and this had a negative effect on the social atmosphere. The nature of contradictions in life was often ignored; realism was lacking in evaluating the true state of affairs in the economy and in the social sphere and or spheres, as well. The stratifications laid down by the past continue to have an effect. They make themselves known; they reveal themselves in people's consciousness, their actions and conduct. A lifestyle cannot be changed overnight. It is even more difficult to overcome inertia of thought. Energetic efforts are essential here.

Policy produces the required results when it is constructed on a precise assessment of the interests of the classes, social groups, and individuals. And if this is true from the point of view of running society then it is even more so at the ideological and education level. Society comprises specific people; they have specific interests, joys, and dramas, their own view of life with its real and imaginary values.

In this connection I would like to dwell on INDIVIDUAL WORK AS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FORMS OF EDUCATION. It cannot be said that no attention is paid to this; but in the ideological sphere it is seriously hindered by the usual wholesale approach. The figures here are truly impressive: tens and hundreds of thousands of propagandists, political information and agitation workers, circles and seminars, print runs of millions of newspapers and magazines, audiences of millions at lectures. All that is well. But does the living man not disappear amid such shimmer of figures and "overviews"? Do the ideological statistics not screen from us, on the one hand, devoted toilers, deserving great public recognition, and, on the other, leaving us antisocialist ethics? That is why it is so important to be specific to the utmost in the cause of education.

An essential peculiarity of ideological work also consists in the fact that it is taking place in a climate of sharp confrontation between the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. Bourgeois ideology is an ideology of servicing capital, of the profits of monopolies, of adventurism and social revenge; an ideology of society without a future. Its purposes are clear--to use any methods to rebellish capitalism, to cover up its anti-human nature and its injustice, to improve its standards of life and culture; to blacken socialism in every way, and to distort the sense of such values as democracy, liberty, equality, and social progress.

The "psychological war" unleashed by imperialism cannot be qualified in any other way than as a specific form of aggression and of information imperialism which flouts peoples' sovereignty, history, and culture. This is also a direct policy of politico-psychological preparation for war. This naturally has nothing in common with true comparison of views or free exchange of ideas, which are spoken of hypocritically in the West. It is impossible to evaluate differently the actions whereby people are taught to view any society displeasing imperialism through the notch of a gun sight.

Of course, there is no basis for overestimating the effect of bourgeois propaganda. Soviet people are sufficiently aware of the true value of various kinds of prophets and prophecies; they are well able to sort out the true aims of the subversive actions of ruling monopolistic forces. But we have no right to forget that the "psychological war" is a struggle for people's minds, for their world understanding and their orientation in life, society, and culture. (APPLAUSE) We have to deal with an experienced class enemy, whose political experience is varied and measured in centuries of time. They have created a gigantic machine for mass propaganda equipped with modern technical facilities and has a vast apparatus of well-drilled hangers of socialism at its disposal.

The versatility and lack of principle of the bourgeois propagandists should be countered by the high professionalism of our ideological workers, the morality of socialist society, its culture and openness of information, and the bold and creative character of our propaganda. We also need to be aggressive as regards exposing ideological subversion and putting over truthful information about the real achievements of socialism and about the socialist way of life. (APPLAUSE)

We have built a world without oppression and exploitation and have created a society of social cohesion and confidence. We are patriots to our motherland, and will continue to defend it by every means and to multiply the riches of the fatherland and strengthen its economic might and moral strength. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) The deep roots of Soviet patriotism are in the social order and in our humanist ideology. True patriotism lies in an active civic action. Socialism is a society of lofty morality. One cannot be an ideological person without being honest, conscientious, decent, and demanding of oneself. Our education will be all the richer the more energetically the ideals, principles, and values of the new society are asserted. The struggle for purity of life is the most effective means of enhancing the effectiveness of ideological education work, of increasing the social return from it, and of guaranteeing that unhealthy phenomena do not arise.

Briefly, comrades. Whichever sphere of ideological work we take, our work must proceed from life. Stagnation is simply intolerable in such a highly dynamic and multifaceted matter as information, propaganda, artistic creativity and amateur artistic activity, the work of clubs and theaters, libraries and museums--the whole sphere of ideological-political, moral, and atheist education.

The present-day is full of dynamism and changes, and THE ROLE OF THE MASS INFORMATION MEDIA increases significantly. The time that has passed since the Central Committee's April Plenum has been a serious test for all party journalism. Editorial collectives have boldly come to grips with complex questions which are new in many ways. Life itself, with its achievements and contradictions, has begun to pulsate on the pages of newspapers and magazines and in television programs. The degree of analysis and civic spirit has become greater, as has the degree of acuteness in setting forth problems and specific criticism of shortcomings and omissions. Many constructive proposals have been expressed on topical economic, social, and ideological questions.

The effectiveness of the mass information media is now acquiring even greater significance. The Central Committee sees them as instruments of combat, as mouthpieces for the all-party point of view, which are incompatible with bureaucracy and parochialism. And everything which is dictated by professional considerations, by the interests of improving matters, will continue to be supported by the party. The work of the mass information media is only the more fruitful the greater the amount of thoughtfulness and drive it has, and the less it chases the incidental and the sensational. (APPROX.)

In our country television and radio are rapidly developing and acquiring modern technology. They have taken a firm position in our lives as all-embracing media of information and propaganda and for the affirmation of our moral values and our culture. Shifts for the better have become clearly visible here. Television and radio broadcasts have become more uniform and more lively. A desire can be seen to overcome the clichés which have been about and to take fuller account of the variety of interests among listeners.

But can we say that our information and propaganda media are realizing their potential to the fullest extent? Not yet! There is still a great deal of dullness. Inertia has not been overcome and blindness to the real facts has not been excluded. People are feeling dissatisfied over the insufficient attention in covering events, over the superficial show of the struggle for those abstract things which are coming into practice. The low level of artistic-literary productions, television programs and films, suffering from an acute lack of ideological and aesthetic clarity but also of elementary taste, must be for justified censure. There is a need for a serious improvement of our films and in the book and magazine publishing business as well as in the leadership of the Ministry of Culture, the State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting, the State Committee for Cinematography, the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade of the USSR, and the news agencies. Energetic conclusions must be drawn from the numerous critical remarks of the public. The shortcomings are obvious and must

responsibility is specific. The ideological cadres must constantly keep this in mind.

The party sees its main task in CULTURAL POLICY as opening up the broadest scope for people's capacities to be displayed, to make their life spiritually rich and multifaceted. In attempting to achieve radical changes for the better in this sphere it is also important to construct all cultural and educational work such that it more and more fully satisfies the spiritual demands of the people, so that it takes account of their interests.

The moral health of a society and the spiritual climate in which people live, are to no small degree determined by the condition of LITERATURE AND THE ARTS. Our literature, which reflects the birth of a new world, also actively participated in its establishment by shaping the person of this world--a patriot of the motherland and a genuine internationalist. In that way it has correctly chosen its place and its role in the people's cause. But this is also the criterion with which the people and the party approach the assessment of the work of writers and artists--in fact, with which literature itself and Soviet art approaches its own tasks.

When the public's need arises for interpretation of the times, in particular times of change, those times always put forward people for whom this becomes an internal need. It is in such times that we are now living. Neither the party nor the people have and need for showy long-windedness, the shallow minded dredging up of petty, everyday details, short-term interest, and narrow-mindedness. Society expects from writers artistic discoveries, the truth about life, which has always been the essence of real art.

But truth is not an abstract concept; it is specific: It is to be found in the deeds of the people and the contradictions of the development of society; in the heroism of the workaday world; in victories and failures--that is in life itself; in all its multifacetedness, dramatism, and grandeur. Only a literature that is ideologically committed, artistic, and of the people can educate people to be honest and strong in spirit and capable of taking on the burden of their times. (APPLAUSE)

Criticism and self-criticism are a natural principle of the vitality of our society. Without them there is no development. It is time for literary and artistic criticism to shake itself out of complacency and deference to rank, which is eating away at healthy morality, keeping in mind that criticism is a public affair and not a service pandering to authors' conceit and ambitions. (APPLAUSE)

Our creative unions have rich traditions and a significant role in the life of the arts and, indeed, of society as a whole. But here, too, changes are needed. The chief measure of the results of their work is not resolutions and meetings but talented, original, socially-needed books, films, shows, pictures, and musical compositions capable of enriching the people's spiritual life. (APPLAUSE) In this connection, public suggestions that HIGHER DEMANDS BE PLACED ON WORKS SUBMITTED FOR LOFTY PRIZES are deserving of serious attention. (APPLAUSE)

To provide guidance for spiritual and cultural life is no easy matter; it requires tact, an understanding of the nature of creative activity, an unfailing love for literature and art, and respect for talent. Here much depends on knowing how to publicize the party's policy on culture and to implement it, on fairness in making evaluations and on benevolent attitudes where the creativity and strivings of a writer, composer, or artist are concerned.

Ideological work is creative work that knows no universal means appropriate to all cases that arise in life. It calls for a constant search for ways of keeping pace with life. Today, it is especially important to form a deep understanding of the character of contemporary tasks, a firm scientific world view, a principled attitude, a high level of culture, and a responsible attitude to whatever affairs one may be engaged in. ENHANCING THE LEVEL OF SOCIETY'S MATURITY AND BUILDING COMMUNISM MEANS UNSERVINGLY ENHANCING THE MATURITY OF ONE'S CONSCIOUSNESS AND ENRICHING MAN'S SPIRITUAL WORLD.
(PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

The party things highly of the knowledge, experience, and selflessness of its ideological aktiv. Here at our congress, we must say the warmest of words to the millions of party members who have been carrying out or are still carrying out with honor some of the party's most responsible commissions in one of the chief areas of its activity. (APPLAUSE) In the future, we must continue to actively promote to the ideological workshop those comrades who prove their convictions by personal example, who are capable of analytical thought, and who know how to listen to and talk with people--in general, people who are well-prepared both theoretically and professionally, and who are capable of successfully solving the new tasks of our time.

VI. On the Results of the Discussion of the New Edition of the Program and the Changes to the Party Statutes

Comrades! The CPSU Central Committee's Political Report has reviewed the party's program goals, its current economic and political strategy, problems of perfecting intra-party life and style and methods of work, and all that constitutes the essence of the drafts of the new edition of the program and of the changes in the CPSU Statutes. For this reason there is no need to set forth their content in detail. I shall dwell only on certain fundamental points, taking into account the results of the discussion throughout the party and people of the drafts of these documents.

What are these results? First and foremost, there is broad approval for the conclusions and provisions of the CPSU Program and Statutes. Communists and the Soviet people support the party's course towards accelerating the country's social and economic development, and the clear orientation of its program toward the communist future and toward the consolidation of peace on earth. They stress that the new historic tasks are founded on a profound analysis of the problems of social development that have come to a head.
(PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

The new edition of the program has also evoked a lively response abroad. The progressive public notes its deeply humanistic character, its orientation

... its passionate appeal for mutual understanding among peoples and for the undertaking of humanity's peaceful future. Our friends abroad are inspired by the CPSU's unshakable striving for lasting comradely relations and intense cooperation with all the states of the world socialist system, and by its resolute support for the anti-imperialist struggle of peoples, for peace, democracy, social progress, for the consolidation of independence. Many forward-minded figures from the bourgeois camp note the peace-loving orientation of the CPSU, and the CPSU's course toward disarmament and the establishment of friendly relations with all states.

The discussion and discussion of the pre-congress documents enlivened the ideological and political work and encouraged the growth of the public activity of the million-strong working masses.

The new draft edition of the program and statutes have been widely discussed in all types of primary party organizations, at rayon, city, okrug, oblast and republic party and election conferences, and at the congresses of the various parties of the union republics. Since the start of the discussion, the CPSU's program alone has attracted more than a million responses. Their authors—workers and collective farmers, scientists, teachers, engineers, officers, servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy, Communists and non-party people, old and young people—in assessing the new edition of the party program, stressed that it corresponds to the vital interests of the Soviet people, that it contains numerous proposals, ideas and editorial amplifications. It is necessary to deal in more of them.

... a number of letters, noting the new features of the draft under discussion, in favor of adopting it at the congress as the party's Fourth Party Congress. It is well known that the adoption of new party programs--first the CPSU's and then the Third--was brought about by the achievement of the targets set out in the preceding programs. In this case, the situation

... fundamental tasks in development and strengthening of socialism, the further comprehensive perfection and the further advance of Soviet society, remain in force. The document reproduces the ideological, theoretical and political provisions, which have stood the test of

... in the 25 years since the adoption of the Third Party Program, life has changed, fresh historical experience has been gained, and all evaluations and conclusions have been confirmed. The tasks of the developing construction of communism onto the plane of socialism, which has passed to its practice. There were also new problems of the perfection of socialism, of the development and of international politics have been put on the agenda and have become acute. And all this has had to be reflected in the new program.

The revision of the document is a new edition of the Third Party Program, which has been confirmed in principle. It

reaffirms the main aims of the CPSU and the fundamental laws of communist construction; at the same time it bears witness to the creative interpenetration of the accumulated historical experience and to the working out of strategy and tactics in correspondence with the peculiarities of the period of change we are living through.

Much public attention has been attracted by the provisions of the program which describe the stage of social development reached by the country and targets to be attained as a result of its implementation. Various opinions have been expressed in this connection. Some suggest the complete removal from the program of the provisions concerning developed socialism. Others, on the other hand, consider that this should be treated at greater length.

Set forth in the draft is a considered and realistic stance on this issue. In the basic conclusions about the modern socialist society, it is reaffirmed that our country has entered the stage of developed socialism. We also, from our understanding for the proposal on the task of building developed socialism in the program documents of fraternal parties of socialist countries.

At the same time, it is appropriate to recall that the thesis of developed socialism was disseminated among us as a reaction to a more lightweight presentation of the ways and timescales for solving the tasks of communist construction. But later the emphases in the treatment of developed socialism gradually became displaced. Often matters were reduced to a statement of successes, while many topical problems connected with transferring the economy onto the path of intensification, increasing labor productivity, improving supplies to the population, and overcoming negative phenomena were avoided or left without due attention. This served perhaps unintentionally as a kind of justification for delay in solving tasks which had arisen. Today, when the party has proclaimed and is carrying out a course towards the acceleration of socioeconomic development, this kind of approach is unacceptable.

The conditions which have arisen require us to direct theoretical and political thought, not to preserving what has been achieved, but to devising ways and methods of accelerating socioeconomic progress with which qualitative changes in various spheres of life are linked. It is a question of an immeasurably more thorough approach to solving the main tasks of social progress. The need for changes and for more dynamism in the development of society is the essence of the CPSU's strategy set out in the new edition of the program. Precisely on the basis of socioeconomic acceleration, our society is faced with moving forward to new limits, when the advantages of the socialist system will be revealed in their greatest entirety and the problems we have inherited from preceding stages will be solved.

Various views have also been expressed on the problem of setting out the details of the program tenets. Some believe that the program should be an even more condensed document, a kind of short declaration of the party's intentions. Others favor a more detailed exposition of the parameters of economic and social development. A number of letters propose defining more precisely the chronology of those periods through which Soviet society will pass on its progress toward communism.

According to Lenin's principles on drawing up program documents and according to tradition, the program should provide a ramified picture of the contemporary world, the basic trends and natural laws of its development, a clear and well argued presentation of the aims that the party is setting for itself and which it is calling on the masses to achieve. At the same time, Lenin stressed that the program should be strictly scientific, proceed from absolutely established facts, be distinguished by economic exactitude, and not make superfluous promises. He called for maximum realism in describing the structure of society and the task being put forward. Lenin wrote: "One must be as cautious and precise as possible, and if we lay even the smallest claim to what we are unable to give, this will weaken the force of our program. They, the workers, will suspect that our program is only a fantasy."

I think that the proposed edition of the program meets these requirements. As far as a chronological framework for achieving the program targets is concerned, there is no justification for setting any. The miscalculations that we made in the past have taught us a lesson. Today it can definitely be said only that the fulfillment of our program goes beyond the end of the current century.

The tasks to be tackled in the next 15 years do lend themselves to more concrete definition. They are set forth in the new edition of the program, and in more detail in the Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the Country up to the Year 2000. And of course, an important place in the implementation of the program goals will be taken by the 12th 5-Year Plan, which is expected to be a major step in the transfer of the national economy to the course of intensive development on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

A considerable proportion of the responses and letters that come into the Commission of the CPSU Central Committee for the preparation of the new edition of the CPSU Program are devoted to questions of social policy. Soviet people approve and support the measures to increase people's well-being, to reaffirm social justice everywhere, and cleanse our life of everything that is contrary to the principles of socialism. They put forward proposals aimed at ensuring full and strict implementation of the principle of distributing income according to the quantity and quality of labor, improving the social living standards, intensifying surveillance over the amount of labor and the amount of consumption, resolute suppression of unearned incomes and attempts to use public property for selfish ends, removing unjustified differences in material rewards for equal labor for workers in different sectors, at curbing wage leveling, and so on. Some of these proposals have been reflected in the draft. Others should be thoroughly examined by party, Soviet, economic bodies and taken into consideration in legislative acts and decisions and in practical work.

During the nationwide discussion, great interest was aroused by the program provisions for the development of people's socialist self-government. Enthusiastic support is being expressed for the line of comprehensive democratization of socialist society and for the maximal and effective participation of all working people in the governing of economic, social, and cultural processes. Specific steps in this area are also being approved.

Ideas are being put forward that in elucidating the issue of improving the management of matters of the society and the state, the capabilities of the labor collectives as the primary cells of immediate and direct democracy should be more widely shown. These have been taken into consideration.

Requests for strengthening the soviet people's education in the spirit of communist ideals and moral norms, and the struggle against their opposites, have been dictated by concern for the spiritual ennoblement of our society. The program commission deemed it expedient to adopt these proposals, so that the principles of high ideological integrity and morality would even more fully permeate the content of the requirements of the party program.

About 2 million people have voiced their ideas on the CPSU Statutes. In consideration of the results of the discussion, the party Central Committee has deemed it necessary to make a number of substantial additions and amplifications to the draft statutes, aimed at raising the vanguard role of Communists, the fighting efficiency of the primary party organizations, developing intra-party democracy, and ensuring permanent control of the activity of every party organization and every worker.

Some comrades, in support of the thesis of raising exactingness toward Communists, proposed to that end to conduct a purge of the party in order to liberate it of those whose behavior and way of life run contrary to our norms and ideals. I think there is no necessity to conduct a special campaign of purging the CPSU ranks. Our party is a healthy body. It is improving the style and methods of its activity, eradicating formalism, bureaucracy, and red tape, and cutting off all that is stagnant and conservative and hampers our movement onward, freeing itself of those who have compromised themselves through bad work and unworthy behavior. Party organizations must continue to carry out this work consistently, systematically, and unswervingly.

The new edition of the program and also the proposed changes to the party statutes enshrine and develop the Bolshevik principles of party construction and of the style and methods of party work, and the moral norms of behavior of Communists, which were worked out by Lenin and proven in practice.

On the whole, comrades, the results of the discussion of the CPSU Program and statutes have been exceedingly fruitful. They have enabled many ideas and provisions to be developed, formulations to be clarified, and the wording to be improved. Allow me, on behalf of our congress, to express profound gratitude to Communists and to all Soviet people for their businesslike and interested involvement in the discussion of the precongress documents. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

In the view of the party's Central Committee, the proposed drafts, enriched by the experience of the party and the experience of the people, are in tune with the spirit of the times and the demands of the historical period we are living through. They confirm our party's loyalty to the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism, give scientifically-based replies to the fundamental issues of domestic and international life, and equip Communists and all working people with a clear view of the long term. (STORMY APPLAUSE)

Comrades! Such are the programmatic tasks for our further development which have been proposed for consideration by the 27th congress.

Where do we find evidence of the practicability of the plans we have outlined, where do we find the guarantee that the course toward the acceleration of social and economic progress is a true one and will be implemented?

Above all, in the fact that our plans are built on the firm foundation of Marxist-Leninist science and rely on the inexhaustible wealth of the ideas of Vladimir Ilich Lenin.

The CPSU draws strength from the vast possibilities of socialism and the living creativity of the masses. At difficult historical turning-points the Leninist party has repeatedly demonstrated its ability to find the right ways ahead and to inspire, rally and organize the millions of members of the working masses. That is how it was in the years of the revolution, of peaceful construction, wartime trials, and the difficult post-war period. We are confident that that is the way it will continue to be. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

We are counting on the support of the working class, because the party's policy is its policy. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

We are counting on the support of the peasantry, because the party's policy is its policy. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

We are counting on the support of the people's intelligentsia, because the party's policy is its policy. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

We are counting on the support of women, our young people, veterans, all social groups, all nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet motherland, for the party's policy is an expression of the hopes, interests and desires of the whole people. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

We are convinced that all aware, honest people, and every Soviet patriot, will support the party's strategic course, aimed at strengthening the might of our state, so that our life can become better, purer and more just. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Such are the mighty social forces which stand behind the CPSU. They are following it and believe in the party of the Communists. (STORMY APPLAUSE)

The indomitable flow of history has already taken off for the turnover between the second and third millennia. What lies beyond this boundary? We shall not prophesy, but we know that the plans which we are putting forward today are not commonplace ones, but audacious ones, and that our everyday affairs are imbued with the spirit of socialist morality and justice. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) In today's troubled age, our social and, I would say, life strategy is intended to enable people to preserve the planet, the skies, and outer space, to conquer it like settlers of a PEACEFUL civilization, having cleared life of nuclear nightmares and finally having liberated for constructive aims,

and constructive ones only, all the best qualities of such a unique inhabitant of the universe as man. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

The Soviet people can rest assured that the party is profoundly aware of its responsibility for the country's future and for a stable peace on earth, for the correctness of the course mapped out. The main thing that is needed for its practical implementation is persistent work, the unity of the party and the people, and cohesive action by all working people. (STORMY APPLAUSE)

Only like this, in this and only in this way will we be able to fulfill the behest of great Lenin: To rise higher and go forward with energy and unity of will. History has given us no other destiny. But what a fine destiny it is, comrades! (STORMY, PROLONGED APPLAUSE, ALL STAND)

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RESOLUTION OF THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS ON THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE. UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED 1 MARCH 1986

PM061418 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 86 [signed to press 11 Mar 86] pp 81-98

[Capitalized passages published in boldface in original]

[Text] Having heard and discussed the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee delivered by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th CPSU Congress notes that our Leninist party has come to its latest congress enriched with new experience in constructive activity, and closely united. As they carried out the program targets of the CPSU and the decisions of the party's 26th congress, the Soviet people made considerable economic, social, and cultural advances. The positions of the Soviet State in foreign affairs have grown stronger, its international prestige has risen. The CPSU is holding high the banner of struggle for peace and social progress.

At the present turning point, in a qualitatively new situation inside the country and on the world scene, the party has again shown its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and its ability to deeply examine and realistically evaluate the situation, to draw the right lessons from experience, find ways of resolving the urgent problems, and overcome all that is outdated and no longer viable.

At its April 1985 plenary meeting, the CPSU Central Committee has thoroughly analyzed the situation in the national economy and other spheres of society, and formulated the strategy of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, which won the wholehearted support of the Communists and all Soviet people. The plenary meeting courageously demonstrated the shortcomings, told the people frankly of the difficulties and deficiencies, provided powerful impulse of our advance and gave the start to a radical turn towards vigorous practical actions and a resolution tightening of discipline and heightening of efficiency.

The countrywide approval of the decisions of the Central Committee's April Plenum and of the drafts of the new edition of the CPSU Program, the amendments to the party Statutes, and the Basic Guidelines for the economic and social development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the period ending in

2000, is evidence of a further strengthening of the unity of the party and the people, of an extension of the party's leading role, and offers new opportunities for fuller use of socialism's economic and spiritual potential.

The 27th CPSU Congress hereby DECIDES:

TO APPROVE THE POLITICAL COURSE AND PRACTICAL ACTIVITY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE;

TO APPROVE THE PROVISIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND TASKS SET FORTH IN THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE CONGRESS, AND INSTRUCT ALL PARTY ORGANISATIONS TO TAKE GUIDANCE IN THEM IN THEIR WORK.

I

1. The congress reaffirms and supports the analysis of the basic tendencies and contradictions in contemporary world development contained in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee, and its evaluations and conclusions.

2. In the 20th century progress is rightly associated with socialism. World socialism is a powerful international entity. It reposes on a highly developed economy, an up-to-date scientific base, and a dependable military-political potential. Socialism is continuously demonstrating the fact that social problems can be resolved on a fundamentally different, collectivist basis, and has taken the countries that follow this path to new heights of development.

Socialism is tirelessly improving social relations, augmenting its achievements purposefully, building up the power of attraction and credibility of its example, demonstrating the real humanism of the whole tenor of line, and displaying invariable readiness to participate in broad international cooperation for peace and the prosperity of nations on an equal and reciprocal basis. By so doing, socialism is erecting an increasingly dependable barrier to the ideology and policy of war and militarism, reaction and force, to all forms of man-hating, and actively contributing to the social progress of mankind.

3. Under the impact and in the setting of the scientific and technological revolution, modern-day capitalism is making the conflict between the immensely greater productive forces and the social relations based on private ownership still more acute. We are witnessing a further exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism. Capitalism is running into an unheard-of intertwining and mutual aggravation of all its contradictions, into a quantity of social, economic and other crises and clashes that it has never run into before in its history. It is responsible for the creation of all the main problems of our time, for the fact that they continue to exist and are becoming more acute.

In modern-day conditions one of the effects of the exacerbation of capitalism's basic contradiction, that between labor and capital, is the grave danger of a further considerable rightward shift of policy, of the entire domestic situation in some of the leading capitalist countries.

4. In modern-day conditions, imperialism is a growing threat to the very existence of mankind. Militarism is its most monstrous offspring, seeking to subordinate the whole political machinery of bourgeois society to its influence and interests, and to exercise control of spiritual life and culture.

The responsibility for the wars and conflicts of our century, for the instigation, continuous exacerbation, and opening of new channels of the arms race, lies on imperialism and none other than imperialism. Imperialism, which was the first to use nuclear weapons, is now preparing to take a new, possibly irreparable step and carry the arms race into outer space, training the sights on the entire planet.

Imperialism has created a refined system of neocolonialism. The most brutal exploitation of the developing countries is increasingly becoming an important source for financing imperialism's militarist preparations, its home policy, its very existence. Imperialism is counterposing itself more and more strongly to all mankind.

5. The course of history and of social progress requires ever more insistently that states and nations constructively and positively interact on a worldwide scale. The combination of competition and historical contest between the two systems with the mounting tendency towards the interdependence of states within the world community is the real dialectics of modern-day world development. Through the struggle of opposites there is taking shape a controversial but interdependent, and in many way integral, world.

World development, its present stage, set especially rigid demands on every state, whether it is a question of foreign policy, economic and social activity, or the spiritual pattern of society.

The last few decades of the 20th century confronted the nations of the world with difficult and acute problems. The need for solving the most vital global problems should prompt them to joint action, to triggering the tendencies towards the self-preservation of humanity. The course of world development has created the requisite material, social and political conditions for this. For the congress this is a stimulus to make decisions and actions consonant with the realities of our time.

The forces of peace and progress all over the world can neutralize the threat created by imperialism, halt the world's slide towards the edge of the nuclear abyss, and prevent outer space from becoming a battlefield. Human life, the possibilities for its all-around development, the interests of society's development, rank uppermost. And to this end the congress is directing the practical activity of the CPSU and the Soviet State.

II

1. The party's chief sphere of activity is the economy, as it has always been. It is here that conditions are created to provide a materially and

spiritually prosperous, and socially rich life for Soviet people in the setting of peace, to achieve a new qualitative state of society.

The congress notes that in the quarter of a century since the adoption of the third CPSU Program, the country's economy has moved ahead considerably. The national income has gone up nearly 300 percent, industrial production 400, and agricultural output 70 percent. In output of a number of key items, the Soviet Union firmly holds first place in the world. The people's well-being has improved. Real per capita incomes have increased by 160 percent, and the social consumption funds more than 400 percent. Most families have had their housing improved. The successes in Soviet science, education, health, and culture are universally recognized.

While giving due credit to what has been achieved, the congress calls attention to the difficulties and the negative processes in social and economic development, which made themselves felt in the seventies and the early eighties. At that time, the rate of economic growth and of the productivity of labor had visibly decreased, some other indicators of efficiency declined, scientific and technological progress slowed down, and the imbalances in the economy became more distinct. The 5-year plan targets were not being fulfilled, and scheduled social undertakings were not fully carried out. The congress holds that the main reason for the lags was the failure to produce a timely political assessment of the change in the economic situation; the urgent and acute need for converting the economy to intensive methods of growth was not apprehended; nor was due perseverance and consistency shown in tackling the urgent matter of readjusting economic policy, the economic mechanism and the very psychology of our economic activity. Despite the effort of recent times, we have not yet managed to fully remedy the situation.

In these circumstances, the most crucial task of the whole party and state is to firmly overcome the unfavorable tendencies in economic development and to the end in the shortest possible time, to impart a high degree of dynamism to the economy, to give scope to truly revolutionary changes, and to enlist broad segments of the working people in these processes.

2. The congress wholeheartedly approves the CPSU Central Committee's concept of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, and the practical steps towards this end. The party's strategic course is to change to a more highly organized and more effective running of the economy with versatile and developed productive forces, mature socialist relations of production, and a smooth-working economic mechanism. The 12th 5-Year Plan period is an important stage making for deep-going qualitative change in production.

The congress makes it incumbent on all party, soviet, economic and mass organizations to direct all their activity to the unconditional fulfillment of the program provision of converting the economy to the intensive path of development. The leadership of economic construction at all levels must shift the emphasis from quantity indicators to quality and efficiency, from the intermediate to the end results, from expanding production capacities to their modernization, from building up fuel and raw materials resources to improving their utilization, and to the crash development of science-intensive

industries. The structural and investment policies are to be changed accordingly.

The party regards as the main lever for the intensification of the economy, a cardinal acceleration of scientific and technological progress, a broad introduction of new generations of machinery and of fundamentally new production techniques that make for the highest possible productivity and effectiveness. The foremost task set by the congress is that of carrying out a deep-going technical reconstruction of the economy on a basis of up-to-minute achievements in science and technology. Each industry, enterprise and association must have a clear program for the continuous modernization of production, and those managers who substitute showy postures and half-hearted decisions for the real thing, and who distort the very idea of technical reconstruction, must be called strictly to account.

Engineering, which must attain the highest possible technical standards in the shortest possible time, is called upon to play the leading role in accelerating scientific and technological progress. A most important task is to develop and start up the mass production of up-to-date computers. There must be a radical reconstruction of the fuel and energy complex; the Energy Program must be fulfilled. Much remains to be done in advancing metallurgy and the chemicalization of the economy, in meeting the demand for new structural and other progressive materials. The party attaches immense significance to the retooling of the industrial infrastructure, first of all transport and communications, and also to a priority development of the light industry and other economic branches that directly meet the needs of the people.

In view of the drive aimed at reconstructing the economy, the congress points to the need for a radical improvement of capital construction, for raising the entire building complex to a new industrial and organizational level, and substantially reducing the investment cycle.

The congress sets the task of turning science conclusively towards the need for the economy's technical modernization, for bringing it closer to production, using new, tested forms of integration and interaction for these purposes, speeding up the introduction of the results of research in practice, enhancing the return from academy and sectorial institutes and enhancing the scientific potential of higher educational establishments, and improving the training of rising generations of scientists.

3. It is the priority task of party, soviet, and economic bodies, of all Communists, of all people, to perseveringly carry into effect the party's up-to-date agrarian policy and to fulfill the USSR Food Program. An effective advance is required in developing the agro-industrial complex, so as to visibly improve food supplies to the population already in the 12th 5-Year Plan period. It is important to secure the smooth, economically integrated functioning of all the links of the agro-industrial complex, and to enhance the impact of scientific and technological progress on the achievement of a more stable growth of agriculture and related industries.

While consistently building up the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex, it is essential to radically improve the efficient use of the already existing powerful production potential, to concentrate efforts and resources on trends that yield the best results. Special attention should be devoted everywhere to the introduction of intensive techniques, to extending the use of collective contracts based on genuine cost accounting, reducing losses of produce at all levels of agro-industrial production, and to building up in the shortest possible time requisite storage facilities and plant for the processing of agricultural raw material. The social reconstruction of the village must be speeded up, and constant concern shown for those who work in rural areas, for their working and living conditions.

The solution of these tasks will be furthered by the reorganization and the new far-reaching measures aimed at shaping an effective managerial mechanism within the agro-industrial complex, which will provide conditions for a broad use of economic methods in the work of its subdivisions, for a considerable extension of the independence and initiative of collective and state farms, and other enterprises, and for raising a dependable barrier to mismanagement and parasitism. Any radical change in economic management at village level calls for a serious improvement of the style and methods of management at the level of the agro-industrial complex. We must put an end to incompetent interference in the functioning of work collectives, and duplication of the work of the administrative bodies of the agro-industrial complex. In the new setting, the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and the councils of ministers of union republics will bear greater responsibility than before for supplying the country with food and agricultural raw material.

4. The policy of accelerating socioeconomic development necessitates a deep-going restructuring of the economic mechanism, the shaping of an integrated, effective and flexible system of management based on the principle of democratic centralism and allowing for a fuller utilization of socialism's possibilities. The congress herewith instructs the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to carry through at the earliest possible time a set of measures that will put the forms and methods of management and economic activity abreast of current needs.

For this purpose:

--centralized guidance in securing the fulfillment of the main tasks of the party's economic strategy must be made more efficient; at the same time we must enhance the role and independence of associations and enterprises, and also their stake in and responsibility for attaining the highest possible end results on the basis of genuine cost accounting, self-sufficiency and self-financing, and by pegging the incomes of work collectives to the efficiency of their work;

--incentives- and profit-oriented methods of management must be introduced at all levels of the economy; planning and the finance-and-credit mechanism must be improved; so must price-setting; the supply of technical equipment and materials must be restructured;

--management must get up-to-date organizational structures with an eye to the tendency towards concentration, specialization and cooperation in production, the development of complexes of inter-related industries, territorial production complexes and other inter-industrial formations;

--an optimum combination must be secured of economic management at branch level with that at territorial level, as well as a comprehensive economic and social advancement of republics and regions, a further expansion of the rights of republic and local bodies, first of all in guiding the building industry, inter-industrial enterprises, and the social and productive infrastructures.

Any improvement of management calls for a readjustment of the mentality, a clear understanding of the new tasks by party activists, the managerial personnel and the mass of the working people, and renunciation of prevailing stereotypes. It is essential to improve research in the theoretical aspects of management connected above all with the dialectics of the interaction of the productive forces and the relations of production under socialism, the development of socialist property, the use of commodity-money relations, and the blending of centralism with the independence of economic organizations.

5. The congress stresses that successful fulfillment of the projected tasks calls for the maximum mobilization of the untapped potentials available in the national economy. Party, soviet, economic and public bodies must concentrate on tightening organization and discipline, and on combating mismanagement. The main emphasis should be laid on the full use of operating production capacities, all-out economizing of raw and other materials, fuel and energy, on utilizing resource-saving and wasteless production techniques, on utilizing recycled materials, on making production operate more rhythmically, and on seeing to it that contract deliveries are made without fail. The maximum effort should be applied to securing a radical improvement of the quality of output and the quality of all work. Attainment of this crucial nationwide objective calls for the utmost mobilization of the resources of all enterprises, all levels of management, with reliance on the latest achievements of science and technology. Persevering and day-to-day efforts to raise quality must become the cause of every Communist, every working person.

All economic, organizational and political work must be aimed at securing people's involvement in production as its true masters, at securing their ever more active participation in running their enterprise, enhancing the creative initiative of working people, and organizing effective socialist emulation in the drive to fulfill the 12th 5-Year Plan targets. It is essential to enhance the role of the moral factor in stimulating frontline workers, and to step up the traditions of shock work and the Stakhanov movement.

6. The congress attaches top importance to an active, integral social policy, to the program of raising the standard of living, which encompasses all aspects of people's lives as projected for the 12th 5-year period and the longer term. It is necessary to orient the planning agencies and managerial bodies on the social needs, and to once and for all eliminate the underrating of the urgent problems in that sphere. Any lack of consideration for the needs of people, any impingement on their lawful interests, are impermissible on the part of officials. The party will strictly follow the principle of

social justice and will work persistently to eliminate everything that interferes with its constant implementation.

The CPSU is setting in motion a full-scale program for raising the well-being of people to a qualitatively new level. The improvement of people's life must be indissolubly tied in with the growing labor and public performance of every working person, every production collective.

The congress deems it necessary to tighten control over the measure of labor and consumption, to peg wages and salaries more strictly to the productivity of labor, and labor's quality indicators. Leveling must be firmly eliminated, and payment of unearned money and unmerited bonuses stopped: it is essential to uncompromisingly combat unearned incomes and root out other departures from socialism's basic principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." Additional measures must be taken in the immediate future against parasites, pilferers of socialist property, and bribe-takers.

Party, state and economic bodies at the center and locally must radically alter their attitude to the question of amply supplying the market with quality goods and services, ensuring unconditional fulfillment of the comprehensive program for the development of the production of consumer goods and the services, and increasing the contribution of every republic, territory, and region, every branch of the national economy, the work collectives, to this most important task. The responsibility of local bodies for satisfying the consumer demand must be increased.

To supply every family with a separate house or apartment within the projected time, we must increase the scale of building new and modernizing available housing, and encourage in every way the building of cooperative and individual houses, and of housing for young people, and improve the housing distribution procedures.

7. Achievement of qualitative advances in the social sphere definitely presupposes deep-going changes in labor and its content, calling for a heightening productivity, a sizable reduction of manual and unskilled jobs, and improvement of the state system of posting and re-posting cadres.

The congress is setting the task of shaping a single system of uninterrupted education. For this purpose, it is essential to consistently carry out the reform of the general and vocational school, to work perseveringly in raising the effectiveness of education and upbringing, ensure that all pupils learn how to handle computers, and radically improve the training of young people for independent life and work. It is essential to restructure higher and specialized secondary education, and improve the system of training specialists and their use in production. The refresher courses and courses for the retraining of workers and specialists must be adjusted to current needs.

Cardinal measures are essential to improve health protection, mass physical cultured sports, tourism, and people's, especially young people's rewarding leisure. The congress notes the exceptional importance of the drive, started on the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee and actively supported by the

Soviet people, aimed at asserting a wholesome way of life and combating hard drinking and alcoholism. There must be no backsliding in the struggle against this evil.

The problem of environmental protection and rational use of natural resources is acquiring great importance in the current conditions. The advantages of socialism and its plan-governed production and humane world outlook must be used to the full in resolving this global problem.

8. The party considers it highly important to carefully examine in its policy the common basic interests of classes and social groups and their specific interests, as an essential condition for the firm unity of Soviet society and the successful solution of the tasks of communist construction. As the congress sees it, it is the cornerstone of CPSU policy to ensure the leading role of the working class, to strengthen the alliance of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the working intelligentsia. As we improve the socialist way of life it is essential to provide the maximum opportunities for the assertion of collectivism and the development of the personality.

Measures should be carried out to further strengthen the family, heighten the responsibility of parents for the upbringing of their children, improve the working and living conditions of women so as to enable them to successfully combine motherhood with a job and public activity. It is essential to completely meet the demand of the population for children's pre-school institutions within the next few years.

It is the duty of party and soviet bodies and public organizations to show daily care for war and labor veterans, and facilitate their broader participation in production and in socio-political life.

9. Faithful to Leninist principles of its nationalities policy, the CPSU will tirelessly continue to strengthen the fraternal friendship of the peoples of our country, educate the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalism, and show special tact and care in everything that concerns national relations, affects the interests of each nation and nationality, and the national feelings of people; all problems arising in this sphere must be promptly resolved and a relentless struggle conducted against any signs of nationalism, chauvinism, and localism.

It is incumbent on party organizations to constantly care for the comprehensive development of the republics, to increase the contribution of each of them to the consolidation of the country's overall economic complex, to the economic power and defense capability of our multinational state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

III

1. The strategy of accelerating our development includes further improvement of the social relations, renewal of the content, forms, and methods of the work of political and ideological institutions, and the deepening of socialist democracy.

The congress makes a high assessment of the steps being taken by the Central Committee to improve society's political system, to increase the activity of the soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the work collectives, and people's control, and to practice broader publicity. The party, guiding itself by Lenin's words that "living, creative socialism is the product of the people's masses themselves," will continue to pay constant attention to making more effective use of all forms of representative and direct democracy, to steadily broadening the participation by the mass of the people in drafting, adopting, and implementing state and other decisions, and will be the leading force and guarantor of the consistent deepening of the people's socialist self-government.

2. The congress emphasizes the importance of making increasingly constructive and fruitful the work of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics in developing legislation, in exercising supervision over the work of the bodies accountable to them, in guiding the soviets of people's deputies at all levels. We should steer a still firmer course towards enhancing the role of the local soviets and improving their work in mobilizing the masses to accelerate society's socioeconomic and intellectual development and in settling all matters connected with the people's daily life and in meeting their needs and requirements. In this context it is necessary, already in the very near future, to draw up measures to increase the autonomy and responsibility of soviets, to refine the mechanism of their relations with enterprises and organizations subordinated to higher authorities. The congress believes that it is correct and timely to raise the question of perfecting the electoral system.

It is necessary to pay constant attention to the further deepening of the democratic principles in administration, to increase efficiency and promptness in the work of the executive committees of soviets and in the work of other state bodies, and resolutely eradicate manifestations of a departmental approach, localism, irresponsibility, red tape, and formal and indifferent attitude to people. It is necessary to ensure a regular and effective system of reports by executive committees, judges, ministers and the heads of other administrative bodies to work collectives and meetings of working people, and to make more effective use of various forms of supervision by working people over the functioning of the administrative machinery. The congress supports the proposal to introduce a certification procedure for executives of soviet and public bodies.

3. The present stage of development confronts the public organizations with important tasks.

The trade unions, being the largest of the mass organizations, should display a high sense of responsibility in their efforts to mobilise the working people to carry out the national economic plans, to expand socialist emulation, to tighten discipline, and to raise the productivity of labor. The trade unions and their elected bodies are called upon to display more purposefulness and persistence in protecting the working people's lawful interests, in looking after labor protection and safety techniques, in developing and operating

health-building, sports, and club facilities, and children's centers, and to take a more active part in implementing the entire social policy.

Party organizations are obliged to give utmost assistance to the Leninist Komsomol in carrying out its fundamental task of training active, politically conscious builders of the new society, who are dedicated to the ideals of communism, who are industrious and are ready for feats of valor and self-sacrifice. The striving of young people to show their worth in various spheres of the life of society should be supported. There should be a consistent policy of promoting deserving young people to high posts in production, science, the cultural sphere and management.

With the aim of further enhancing the role of trade unions, the YCL, the unions of creative workers, voluntary societies, and women's organizations, the congress considers it necessary to broaden the range of questions on which state bodies can make decisions only with the participation or prior consent of the respective mass organizations, and to give the latter the right to suspend administrative decisions in a number of cases.

4. The party pays special attention to the exercise of all forms of direct democracy, first and foremost, to increasing the activity of work collectives, establishing an atmosphere of socialist mutual assistance and exactingness in them, and making them feel that they are full-fledged masters of production, with a high sense of responsibility for the performance of their duties to society. It is necessary to radically improve the machinery for putting into practice the democratic principles and norms enshrined in the law on work collectives, to expand the range of matters on which decisions taken by work collectives are final, to enhance the role of general meetings of factory and office workers, and responsibility for fulfillment of the decisions taken by these meetings. The congress supports the proposals to set up, at the level of enterprises, councils of work collectives which would function in between their general meetings, and also the proposal to gradually broaden electivity of managerial personnel at enterprises. Party and state bodies should more intensively develop democratic principles of self-government by collective farms and cooperative societies, including strict respect for their rules.

The practice of nationwide discussions and referendums on major issues of the country's life and discussion by the population of drafts of decisions drawn up by local soviets should be further improved, and other channels for developing direct democracy, such as citizens' meetings, constituents' mandates, the press, radio, and television, letters by working people, and all other means of studying public opinion should be put to better use.

The congress attaches fundamental importance to broader publicity in the work of state and other bodies and to keeping the population better informed about decisions they take as well as on follow-up activity.

5. The congress attaches cardinal significance to strengthening the legal foundation of state and public life, to the strictest observance of the laws, to consolidating the guarantees of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens. We must persistently raise the responsibility of the personnel of the law enforcement and other bodies connected with practical implementation of the

laws, protection of law and order, protection of socialist property and the lawful interests of Soviet citizens' resolutely raise the efficacy of procurators' supervision; improve the functioning of courts of law and the bar; and improve the work of state arbitration and the legal service in soviets and at enterprises and organizations for the further consolidation of legality in economic relations, and of state and contractual discipline. The inculcation of a sense of civic duty, and the moral and legal education of Soviet people, especially young people, should effectively promote their socio-state activity, irreconcilable attitude to shortcomings and violations of the law, and commitment to the interests of society and the state.

6. Against the background of imperialism's increasing subversive encroachments against the USSR and other socialist countries, substantially great responsibility devolves upon the state security bodies, which must display supreme vigilance, timely expose and firmly thwart all attempts to undermine or weaken our political and social system.

The congress notes with satisfaction that thanks to the unflagging attention by the party, by its Central Committee and by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the Soviet Union's defense might is maintained at a level which reliably guarantees the peaceful constructive labors of the Soviet people. Today, as before, it is one of the most important tasks of the party, the state, and the people to raise to the maximum the combat readiness of the Armed Forces, to educate the men and officers of the Army and Navy, and all Soviet people, in a spirit of vigilance and constant preparedness to defend the great gains of socialism.

IV

1. The principal objective of the CPSU's strategy in foreign policy is to ensure the Soviet people of the possibility of working under conditions of enduring peace and freedom. For that reason the struggle against the nuclear threat and the arms race, for the preservation and consolidation of universal peace must remain the main direction of the party's activity on the international scene in the future as well.

The congress emphasizes that there is no alternative to this policy. The character of present-day armaments leaves no country with the hope of defending itself only with military-technical means, by creating even the most powerful defence, since not only nuclear war itself, but also the arms race cannot be won. Its continuation on earth, let alone its spread to outer space, will accelerate the already critically high rate of stockpiling and perfecting nuclear and other types of armaments, with the result that even parity will cease to be a factor of military-political deterrence. Consequently, the safeguarding of security is increasingly seen as a political problem that can only be resolved by political means.

2. The analysis made by the CPSU Central Committee of the character and dimension of the nuclear threat has allowed formulating the conclusion, which is important in both theoretical and practical terms, that the objective conditions currently on the international scene are such that the

confrontation between capitalism and socialism can proceed only and exclusively in forms of peaceful competition and peaceful contest.

Proceeding from this, the congress instructs the Central Committee to work consistently, steadfastly, and perseveringly to resolve the problems of international security, orienting the foreign policy of the Soviet Union on an unswerving course towards peaceful coexistence, on firmly upholding our principles and positions, on tactical flexibility, on the readiness for mutually acceptable compromises, and a striving for a dialogue and mutual understanding. The congress stresses the need for a further vitalization of Soviet foreign policy all along the line, for quests for a just peaceful settlement of hotbeds of tension, for promoting good-neighbor, mutually beneficial relations with all countries.

3. The central direction of Soviet foreign policy for the coming years must be the efforts to carry out the program set out in the statement of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on January 15, 1986, for destroying weapons of mass annihilation and averting the threat of war. Fulfillment of this program, which is epoch-making for its dimensions and significance, would open for humanity a fundamentally new period of development, the possibility of concentrating exclusively on constructive work.

The congress reaffirms the immutability of the defensive orientation of the Soviet military doctrine, based on the fact that the USSR is a confirmed opponent of nuclear war in any of its variants. Our country advocates eliminating weapons of mass annihilation from use and limiting military potentials to a reasonably adequate ceiling. But the character and level of this ceiling continue to be restricted by the postures and actions of the USA and its bloc partners. The Soviet Union lays no claim to more security, but it will not settle for less.

4. The congress notes that the prerequisites that have lately begun to take shape for improving the international situation are not yet the turning point itself: the arms race continues, the threat of nuclear war remains. However, international reaction is not omnipotent. The development of the world revolutionary process and the growth of massive democratic and anti-war movements have dramatically extended and reinforced the huge potential of peace, reason, and goodwill, which is a powerful counterbalance to imperialism's aggressive policy. The CPSU intends to continue making the utmost contribution towards strengthening this potential.

5. The destinies of peace and social progress are today interlocked more than ever before with the dynamic economic and political development of the socialist world system. The congress expresses confidence in socialism's ability to cope with the most complex tasks and notes the importance of the increasingly active interaction among the socialist countries, an interaction that serves as a catalyst for accelerating their common progress.

The congress unequivocally approves the new positive qualities that have manifested themselves in the relations with the countries of the socialist community following the April plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The heart and soul of the political cooperation among the countries have been and remain the interaction among the ruling communist parties, the perfection and renewal of its forms and methods, which allow for prompt comradely exchanges of opinion on the entire range of problems of socialist construction. This approach is in keeping with the imperatives of the day and enriches the content of the relations at all levels between our parties and countries.

In view of the international situation, the congress underscores the great significance of the prolongation, by a unanimous decision of its signatories, of the Warsaw Pact, which is an effective and constructive factor of European and of world politics.

The CPSU regards as particularly significant the adoption of the comprehensive program of scientific and technological progress of the CEMA countries, and holds that for the Soviet Communists, scientists, engineers, and workers it is a matter of honor to approach key areas of socialist economic integration in a spirit of innovation and initiative.

In advocating broad intercourse among work collectives, mass organizations, and individual citizens of socialist countries, the congress stresses the growing importance of a mutual enrichment of considerations, ideas, and experience of socialist construction. This helps resolve the problems posed by life, forestall the crisis situation being created and used by the class adversary, counter his attempts to set some socialist countries against others, harmonize the interests of the various socialist states, and find mutually acceptable solutions for the most complex problems.

6. The CPSU stands for honest, open relations with all communist parties and all countries of the socialist world system, and comradely exchanges of views with them. The party welcomes every step towards the drawing together of socialist countries, and every positive change in the relations among them.

In this context, the congress notes with gratification the certain improvement in the relations of the USSR with its great neighbor, socialist China, and the possibility, despite the distinctions in the approach to a number of international problems, of promoting cooperation on a basis of equality without effecting third countries. In the opinion of the congress, there are huge potentialities for such cooperation because they are consistent with the vital interests of both countries, for the peoples of which the dearest things--socialism and peace--are indivisible.

7. The CPSU, flesh of the flesh of the international communist movement, sees its primary internationalist duty to this movement in the Soviet society's successful progress along the road opened and blazed by the October Revolution.

The congress proceeds from the premise that the diversity of the communist movement is not a synonym of disunity, just as unity has nothing in common with uniformity, with hierarchy, with interference of some parties in the affairs of others, or with a striving by any party to a monopoly over truth. The communist movement draws its strength from its bold, creative approach to

the new realities in keeping with the doctrine of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, from its class solidarity and equal cooperation among all fraternal parties in the struggle for common aims--peace and socialism. Precisely these aims are the main, definitive thing that unites the communists of different countries. The congress instructs the CPSU Central Committee to do its utmost to facilitate the strengthening of such solidarity and such cooperation among the communist and workers' parties.

8. The tendency towards a change of the balance of strength on the world scene in favor of peace, reason, and goodwill is enduring and in principle, irreversible. However, this correlation is taking shape in the course of an acute and dynamic struggle between progress and reaction. The congress, therefore, reaffirms the CPSU's immutable solidarity with the forces of national liberation and social emancipation, its course towards close interaction with socialist-oriented countries, with revolutionary-democratic parties, and with the Nonaligned Movement, towards the promotion of contacts and cooperation with the socialist democratic movement, towards the extension of relations with all who act against war and for international security.

9. The congress notes the special significance of the fundamental principles for creating a comprehensive system of international security advanced in the Central Committee Political Report. Guided by them it would be possible to make peaceful coexistence the highest universal principle of state-to-state relations. On behalf of the CPSU, the congress calls upon all governments, parties, and mass organizations and movements, which are really concerned about the future of peace in the world, upon all peoples, to cooperate more closely and productively for the sake of achieving success in the battle against war, a success that would be a historic victory for all humanity, for each person on our planet.

V

1. The present stage, a stage of society's qualitative transformation, requires of the party, of all its organizations new efforts, a principled stand in assessing their work, a businesslike attitude, and dedication. The further enhancement of the party's leading role and of its influence on the work of all units of socialist society will be promoted by consistent implementation of the provisions of the new edition of the CPSU Program and of the party rules, both of which embody and enlarge upon the Bolshevik principles of party building, the style and methods of party work, and the ideological and moral norms of the behavior of Communists, all of which were worked out by Lenin and tested in practice. In their practical work party organizations should proceed from the premise that the influence of the party on social processes will be all the stronger and more effective, the more diverse and meaningful inner-party life becomes and the more scrupulous becomes compliance with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

2. Today, when the scale, novelty, and complexity of the tasks being tackled make high demands on all of the party's political, ideological, and organizational work, it is of cardinal importance to ensure a fundamental readjustment of party work, the assertion in every party organization of an atmosphere of creativity, principled exactingness and self-criticism, and

quest for new and effective solutions for social, economic, scientific, technological, ideological, and educational problems.

While positively assessing the spirit of innovation and initiative in the approach to the fulfillment of the tasks set by the April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the congress notes that the need for readjustment is still not appreciated everywhere and by everybody. Many organizations are slowly surmounting inertia, formalism, and stereotypes in work. The central committees of the communist parties of union republics and the party territorial, regional, area, town, and district committees have to be more resolute in uprooting inertia and conservatism in all their manifestations and the striving to embellish the actual state of affairs, and perseveringly surmount the chronic gravitation towards over-organization, the penchant for useless conferences, and paperwork. To call things by their names, make judgments without equivocation, provide objective information to higher party bodies and the rank and file, and show exactingness and honesty always and in everything--such must be an immutable rule of the party work.

Primary party organizations have a responsible role to play in asserting a businesslike, creative style everywhere. Party committees should constantly rely on these organizations, promote independence in work, and strive to ensure in every party organization a full-blooded life, characterised by openness, publicity of plans and decisions, humaneness, a mutual exactingness of Communists, and their tireless concern for the common cause. There must be a significant growth of the influence of the party organizations of ministries and departments of the work of administrative apparatus and whole branches of the economy.

3. Proceeding from the belief that a healthy, normal life of each party organization is inconceivable without strict compliance with inner-party democracy and the principle of collective leadership, the congress considers that it is essential to give a large role to collegiate bodies--plenary meetings of party committees, and bureau and party meetings--in working out well-considered, substantiated decisions and in exercising control over fulfillment and over the work of leading cadres.

To assert healthy principles in our life, to inspire cadres with the desire and ability to work in a new way requires that the party organizations should do their utmost to promote criticism and self-criticism, step up the efforts to eradicate ostentation, and correct those functionaries who in words favor readjustment, but think and act in accordance with outdated patterns and painfully react to criticism levelled at them. Resolute steps must be taken to cut short any attempts at bridling criticism and at persecuting people for it. Where criticism and self-criticism die down, there party work is deformed, and a situation of complacency and impunity arises that leads to stagnation in work and to the degeneration of functionaries. In the party there should not be organizations that are outside the pale of criticism, that are closed to criticism. Not a single leader should be fenced off from responsibility to, above all, the primary party organization, for his actions and deeds.

4. The guarantee of successful fulfillment of the set tasks, of the achievement of our program aims lies in the uninterrupted development and self-perfection of the party, the unbreakable unity of its ranks, and the untiring efforts to maintain the purity and integrity of the party member. In the past few years there has been a further growth and strengthening of the CPSU's creative potential and its roots in the working class, in all strata of society have become increasingly firm. The party ranks have been augmented with fresh forces prepared to serve the communist cause selflessly. All the more intolerable are the cases, still to be met, of a relaxation of exactingness in admitting to party membership persons who join it out of careerist considerations, counting on getting some advantages in life and allowances before the law.

A party member enjoys no privileges. There only are additional duties: this Leninist postulate must be the point of departure in the work of every party organization in selecting persons for party membership and educating Communists as political fighters and organizers of the masses, as active proponents of the party's general line and directives. Strict mutual exactingness, well-considered ideological and educational work and the entire organization of inner-party life must create an atmosphere enabling party members to display a personal example, the point of departure being that there is no vanguard role of a Communist as a general concept, but that this role is expressed in concrete deeds, practical work, and unimpeachable fulfillment of the duty to society.

It is a cardinal task of party organizations to educate Communists in the spirit of the great Bolshevik traditions and genuine comradeship, to eradicate flattery, servility, and toadyism from the party milieu and from the whole of our society. Adherence to principle, modesty and self-critical approach should be second nature to the Communist. More exacting demands must be made of Communists and party organizations as concerns adherence to the provisions of the program and rules and strict observance of the norms of party life. The party ranks must be cleansed of all who are unworthy of being called a member of the CPSU.

5. The congress unanimously approves the measures adopted by the Central Committee for strengthening many sectors of party, state, and economic work by appointing energetic, well-trained cadres, by replacing cadres that have compromised themselves or have fallen behind the demands of the times, and the measures aimed at resolutely overcoming violations of party norms that were committed in a number of organizations.

The Central Committee of the CPSU, local party bodies and all party organizations are obliged to continue the consistent and persistent implementation of the principled cadre policy, which corresponds to the party's present-day demands and tasks. There must be no departures from Lenin's principles of selecting, appointing, and educating cadres. There must be a more energetic struggle against inertia of irresponsibility and permissiveness and against breaches of party and state discipline, ethics, and morality, which have struck deep roots in a number of organizations. Important lessons must also be drawn from the mistakes made by some party organizations in cadre matters. The party will not reconcile itself to the

alien practice of protectionism, of promoting cadres because of their personal devotion or because they come from the same town or locality.

Ideological and moral qualities of workers, their real deeds, and an ability to effectively carry out the party's political line, should be the decisive criteria in all cadre transfers. Every high-ranking executive should be distinguished by ideological staunchness, a high level of political thinking, competency, an ability to organize collective work, to inspire people by his own example, commitment to principles, firm moral convictions and a constant urge for contacts with the masses, for sharing the interests and needs of others. Special demands should be made of Communists who are appointed to head party organizations.

The party will continue to pursue a policy of combining experienced and young personnel in the leadership, of improving the organization of work with cadres, the training of a reliable reserve for promotion, and the system of party and political education, and will practice broader publicity in settling questions relating to cadres. To prevent stagnation in the work, to build up cadres who have a wide range of experience and who are receptive to everything that is new and progressive, it is advisable to transfer to other organizations and regions functionaries who have been in one place a long time, and to rotate cadres between the center and the localities. More women should be more vigorously promoted to leading posts.

6. Efficiency is especially needed to speed our advance. Many functionaries still lack this quality. They are inclined to replace real work by fruitless discussions and ungrounded assurances and promises. Party organizations must help cadres to reorient themselves to a higher level of efficiency. We must constantly bear in mind that any discrepancy between what is said and what is done causes damage to the main thing, to the prestige of the party's policy, and this cannot be tolerated in any form. There must be a decisive battle against red tape, which is today a big obstacle to a radical reorganization of the economic mechanism, is a brake on all worthwhile work.

Party committees must concentrate their attention and efforts on the key problems of our development, introduce new, progressive methods in all spheres of life, and raise organization to a higher level. In doing this they should not confuse the functions of the party and those of other bodies, or allow any substitution for, or petty tutelage over, state and economic organizations. It is important to organize matters in such a way that everybody works well in the sector entrusted to him, acts energetically, with professional skill, and is not afraid of responsibility.

The congress draws attention to the need to tighten supervision over practical implementation of the adopted decisions and plans. As we move forward, supervision should hold an increasingly large share in our work. The lines along which the style and methods of party leadership should be perfected are as follows: to make an objective analysis of the state of affairs, realistically assess the situation and the work of functionaries, take thorough-going measures in all cases, and raise all organizational work to a level commensurate with political tasks.

7. The congress supports the CPSU Central Committee's line of directing the tremendous transforming power of the Marxist-Leninist ideology to accelerating our country's social and economic development, to increasing the role of the human factor, and to overcoming habitual approaches that have outlived themselves. The party's present political course creates exceptionally favorable possibilities for considerably raising the effectiveness of ideological work, possibilities as yet used to a small degree. Important shortcomings still remain in the sphere of ideology: energetic but short-lived drives, educational work that is divorced from the realities of life, underestimation of acute problems that have come to a head, elements of scholasticism and idle contemplation, and education by words which is far from always linked with either education by example or the socio-political experience of the masses.

The content, forms, and methods of ideological and political education of the people should be brought into conformity with the realities of domestic and foreign affairs and tied in with organizational and economic activities. Raising the maturity of socialist society and building communism means steadily raising the consciousness of the people, enriching their inner world and setting their creative potential into motion.

8. The congress emphasizes that the more precisely the objective laws governing social development are taken into account in policy and the more active the role which Marxist-Leninist theory plays in the interpretation of living practice, the more successfully will the perfecting of socialism go ahead. Manifestations of stagnation and dogmatism and also of narrow-mindedness in ideological and theoretical work should be persistently overcome; the collective thinking of the party should be enhanced, and cadres should be trained to have an appreciation of theory and an ability to apply the Leninist methods of analyzing social processes.

Fundamental problems of accelerating our society's progress and of raising society to a qualitatively new level should hold the central place in investigations in the social sciences. The social sciences should react quickly to life's needs; they should draw up well-grounded forecasts and constructive recommendations for practical work.

The party committees and organizations and ideological institutions must make full use of the ideological wealth of the party program, of the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee and of the 27th party congress decisions in shaping an integral Marxist-Leninist world view, in raising the Soviet people's political awareness, labor activity and participation in the life of society. They must reorganize the system of political and economic studies, designed to equip Communists and all working people with the ability to think and act with political maturity, to promote the dissemination and consolidation of advanced forms of organizing work and production.

9. The chief emphasis in ideological work, the congress holds, should be on the education of the working people in the spirit of communist ideological commitment and loyalty to the Soviet motherland, in the spirit of proletarian, socialist internationalism, a conscientious attitude towards work and public

property, and intolerance of everything that is foreign to socialism, to our culture, and to our collectivist morality.

Work-oriented education must be aimed at rousing in every Soviet person an organic need for working with initiative and to a high standard, and attaining a high productivity of labor with the least possible expenditure of resources. Constant care should be shown for the development of the glorious traditions of the Soviet working class, and for raising by all possible means the political and moral prestige of the innovators of production, masters of their trade.

The ideological commitment of the builders of communism is indivisibly welded with integrity, conscientiousness, and decency. It is incumbent on Communists to strengthen the moral pillars of socialism and to work actively for the elimination of all signs of petty-bourgeois psychology, for the consolidation of the principles of collectivism and social justice. It is their duty to skillfully safeguard the historic justice of our case, to show the attractiveness of socialist ideas, to vividly propagate the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union, to come to grips with bourgeois ideology and morality, anti-Soviet provocations, and imperialism's acts of ideological subversion, with attempts at using religion for antisocialist purposes.

10. The congress notes the growing role of the mass and propaganda media in promoting the party's economic strategy, its social policy, and in cultivating the socialist consciousness; it regards television, radio, and the press as powerful vehicles of publicity and instruments of public control. We must use the mighty ideological potential of television more effectively, and heighten the impact of the entire propaganda and information complex; its material facilities must be expanded. The work of the mass media will be more fruitful, more thoughtful and prompt, and it will not chase after accidental and sensational items as much.

11. The congress orients the activity of party organizations in the field of cultural development to see to an increasingly full satisfaction of people's intellectual needs and interests, to provide conditions for them to develop their abilities and to use their leisure time rewardingly. It is essential to resolutely update the methods used by the unions of creative workers and cultural institutions in their activity, to fill it with a profound ideological content.

The congress calls on writers and artists to create works that will be worthy of the greatness of the party's and the people's innovative undertakings, and that will truthfully reflect the life of Soviet people in its diversity and motion with a high degree of artistry. Literary and art critics must shake off their equanimity and worship of high titles, take guidance in clear aesthetic and class criteria in their assessments, and come out more actively against uncommitted and ostentatious proliferacy, nosing about in people's lives, time-serving, and narrow-minded pragmatism.

The party supports and will always support all talented work in literature and art committed to the party's ideals and having a profound feeling of affinity with the people. High ideological and artistic standards, respect for talent,

and tact are the criteria which party organizations follow in their work with the artistic intelligentsia.

12. It is essential to perfect the organisation of ideological work, to see to it that all leading cadres take part in it, to require a comprehensive approach to education, and to keep the concrete individual at the centre of all work. We must secure unity of education at the work place, the study desk, and in the neighborhood.

The contribution of ideological workers, of activists, to the party cause of moulding the new man, must keep increasing. The party will continue to upgrade the prestige of the ideological cadres who practise what they preach, who think analytically, have a taste for theory, and are broadly knowledgeable, professionally trained, and capable of successfully resolving the problems of our new times.

Adopting a Lenin-style, bold, realistic, mobilising, and inspiring strategy in the fight for the triumph of communist ideals, of peace and progress, the 27th Congress of the CPSU expresses the party's unshakeable resolution to honourably follow our great road, and open up new vistas for the creative energy and revolutionary initiative of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia.

The Communists of the Soviet Union will always be in the frontline of all constructive work, will show models of dedication and faithful fulfillment of their duty to the people, of high responsibility to the future generations.

The congress calls on all Soviet people to dedicate all their strength, knowledge, ability, and creative enthusiasm to the great goals of communist construction, and to worthily continue Lenin's victorious revolutionary cause, the cause of the October Revolution!

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ON THE NEW EDITION OF THE CPSU PROGRAM. RESOLUTION OF THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS.
UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED 1 MARCH 1986

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THE CPSU PROGRAM. NEW EDITION. ADOPTED BY THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS.

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[Text] Introduction

The Land of the Soviets, born of the Great October Socialist Revolution, has traveled a long and glorious path. World historical victories have been won under the leadership of the Communist Party. Consistently expressing the interests of the working class and all working people and armed with the Marxist-Leninist teaching and with extremely rich experience of revolutionary struggle and socialist building, the CPSU is confidently leading the Soviet people along the course of communist creation and peace.

The party emerged in the political arena as the worthy continuer of the ideas of the socialist transformation of society proclaimed in the communists' first program document—"The Manifesto of the Communist Party"—of the unfading exploit of the heroes of the Paris Commune, and of the revolutionary traditions of the international working class and the Russian revolutionary democratic movement.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of scientific communism, relying on historical experience of the class struggle and the achievements of mankind's advanced thought, discovered the objective laws of social development, theoretically proved the inevitability of the downfall of capitalism, and substantiated the world historical mission of the proletariat as the maker of the new communist society. Their ardent slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" remains to this day the militant slogan of the workers movement.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the brilliant continuer of the cause of Marx and Engels, comprehensively developed their teaching under new historical conditions, provided answers to the fundamental questions of modern time, and equipped the workers movement with the theory of socialist revolution and socialist building and with a scientific system of views on the problems of war and peace.

Marxism-Leninism is an integrated revolutionary teaching. The party created by the great Lenin is the living embodiment of the combination of scientific socialism with the workers movement and of the unbreakable unity of theory and practice. It has been, is, and will remain a party of Marxism-Leninism, a party of revolutionary action.

At each historical stage the CPSU has resolved the tasks scientifically substantiated in its programs.

After adopting the first program at the second congress in 1903, the Bolshevik party led the working class, the peasantry, and all the working people of Russia into the struggle to overthrow tsarist autocracy and later the capitalist system and passed through the flames of the three Russian revolutions. In October 1917 the working class took political power into their hands. A state of workers and peasants arose for the first time in history. THE CREATION OF THE NEW WORLD BEGAN.

After adopting the second program at the eighth congress in 1919, the party put forward the task of building [postroyeniye] socialism. Trailblazing, overcoming incredible difficulties, displaying unprecedented heroism, the Soviet people under the Communist Party's leadership implemented the plan of socialist building elaborated by V.I. Lenin. SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY BECAME A REALITY.

After adopting the third program at the 22d congress in 1961, the party mounted tremendous work in all avenues of communist building. Soviet society achieved great successes in developing productive forces, economic and social relations, socialist democracy, and culture and in molding the new man. THE COUNTRY ENTERED THE STAGE OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM. The role of the Soviet Union as a powerful factor in the struggle against the imperialist policy of oppression, aggression, and war and for peace, democracy, and social progress increased.

The time that has passed since the adoption of the third program has confirmed the correctness of its main theoretical and political guidelines. At the same time the accumulated experience and the scientific interpretation of the changes in the country's domestic life and in the world arena make it possible to define more precisely and more specifically the prospects for Soviet society's development, ways and means of achieving the ultimate goal--communism--and the tasks of international policy under the new historical conditions.

THE THIRD CPSU PROGRAM IN THIS [NASTOYASHCHAYA] EDITION IS A PROGRAM OF THE SYSTEMATIC AND COMPREHENSIVE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIALISM AND OF THE FURTHER PROGRESS OF SOVIET SOCIETY TOWARD COMMUNISM ON THE BASIS OF AN ACCELERATION OF THE COUNTRY'S SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. IT IS A PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Part One. The Transition From Capitalism to Socialism and Communism Is the Main Content of the Modern Era

I. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Building [postroyeniye] of Socialism in the USSR

Mankind's world historical turn toward socialism, which was begun by the October Revolution, is the law-governed result of social development.

Capitalism is the last exploiter system in the history of mankind. After lending powerful impetus to the development of productive forces, it then became an obstacle in the way of social [sotsialnyy] progress.

The history of capitalism is the history of the deepening of its fundamental contradiction--the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation--of the intensification of the exploitation of the working class and all the working people, and of the exacerbation of the struggle between labor and capital, between the oppressed and the oppressors; it is the history of economic crises, socioeconomic upheavals, and aggressive wars and conflicts that bring incalculable calamities to working people.

In the early 20th century the process of the concentration and centralization of capital led to the emergence of mighty monopoly unions of capitalists which seized the main levers in all economic and political life. Capitalism entered its highest and final stage--the stage of imperialism. In V.I. Lenin's expression, "imperialist capitalism became the greatest oppressor of nations" and the main source of aggressive wars.

At the stage of imperialism, the material conditions have taken shape for the replacement of capitalist production relations by socialist production relations and the objective and subjective preconditions for a victorious socialist revolution ripen. HISTORY ENTRUSTED THE MISSION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMER OF THE OLD [SOCIETY] AND CREATOR OF THE NEW SOCIETY TO THE WORKING CLASS. In implementing that mission, the working class expresses not only its own class interests but also the interests of all working people.

In Russia the contradictions of imperialism, deepened by tsarist oppression and by survivals of serfdom, were displayed with exceptional force. Russia was the weakest link in international imperialism and the focal point of its contradictions. It was to there that the center of the world revolutionary movement shifted. The Russian proletariat was faced with a most difficult and responsible task--being the first to break the chain of the bourgeoisie's world domination. This could only be done under the leadership of a party of the new type--a militant revolutionary organization of the proletariat.

THE FORMATION OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY WAS THE TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN AND INTERNATIONAL WORKERS MOVEMENT. It was an expression of an objective requirement of social development and of the proletariat's class struggle, the fruit of the scientific perspicacity, and the result of the tireless political and organizational work of V.I. Lenin, who rallied Marxists

around himself. Lenin's slogan--"Give us an organization of revolutionaries and we will turn Russia upside down!"--met with an ardent response in the minds and hearts of the workers and progressive people of Russian society and the best representatives of the laboring people. V.I. Lenin elaborated the ideological, political, and organizational principles of the party and the methods of its work among the masses. The party of the new type was created and strengthened in implacable clashes with revisionism and right-wing opportunism, dogmatism, and leftist adventurism.

The 1905-07 revolution--the first people's revolution of the imperialist era--had shown the working class' strength and was the prologue of future victories by the proletariat. The February bourgeois democratic revolution of 1917 swept tsarism away. But it did not rid the people's masses of social and national oppression or the travails of the imperialist war and did not resolve the contradictions rending Russian society. Socialist revolution became an immutable demand of the times.

Russia's working class was distinguished by high revolutionariness and organization. It was headed by a Bolshevik party which had been tempered in political battles and possessed an advanced revolutionary theory. V.I. Lenin armed it with a clear perspective for the struggle by creating a teaching on the possibility of victory by the proletarian revolution under the conditions of imperialism initially in one or a few individual countries.

In response to the Bolshevik party's call and under its leadership, the working class entered into resolute combat against the power of capital. The party united in a single powerful stream the proletarian struggle for socialism, the peasant struggle for land, the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of Russia, and the nationwide movement against the imperialist war and for peace and channeled it toward the overthrow of the bourgeois system.

THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION BECAME A TURNING POINT IN WORLD HISTORY AND DETERMINED THE GENERAL DIRECTION AND MAIN TRENDS OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT AND INITIATED AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS--THE REPLACEMENT OF CAPITALISM WITH A NEW, COMMUNIST SOCIOECONOMIC FORMATION.

A state of the dictatorship of the proletariat emerged and established itself for the first time in history. Uniting all working people around itself, the working class embarked on the resolution of the most complex tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the creation of the foundations of the new society.

The gaining of political power and of victory on the fronts of the civil war and the routing of foreign military intervention, which opened up prospects for building the new life, generated a powerful [moshchnyy] surge of forces and revolutionary energy among the working people. They overcame the deprivations and difficulties engendered by economic ruin, counterrevolutionary conspiracies and sabotage by the bourgeoisie, and the country's technical-economic and cultural backwardness. At times during the transitional period the class struggle assumed the character of acute clashes.

The Land of the Soviets was subjected to fierce attacks from hostile capitalist encirclement and to numerous military and political provocations.

Relying on the masses' enthusiasm, repelling the onslaughts of right and "left" opportunists, and consolidating its ideological-political and organization unity, the party steadily pursued Lenin's general line toward building [postroyeniye] socialism.

The main means of production were handed over to the people. THE NATIONALIZATION of the land, plants, factories, and banks ensured the necessary preconditions for establishing and developing public socialist ownership and the organization of a planned economic system. The country's INDUSTRIALIZATION turned the Soviet Union into a mighty industrial power. THE COLLECTIVIZATION of agriculture became a profound turning point in economic relations and in the peasantry's entire way of life. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry was placed on a firm socioeconomic foundation. As a result of the CULTURAL REVOLUTION, illiteracy was abolished, broad scope was opened up for the development of the working person's creative powers and spiritual flowering, the socialist intelligentsia was formed, and Marxist-Leninist ideology became the ruling one in Soviet people's consciousness.

An outstanding gain of socialism was the solution of THE NATIONALITIES QUESTION. The October victory put an end forever to national oppression and the inequality of nations and ethnic groups. The voluntary association of free, equal peoples in the single multinational state--the USSR--played an enormous part. During socialist building the rapid economic, social, and cultural progress of former national outlying districts was ensured. National hostility became a thing of the past and the fraternal friendship, close cooperation, and mutual aid of all USSR peoples became the norm of life.

All this meant that a social change of world historical importance was effected--an end was put forever to the age-old rule of private ownership, and man's exploitation of man was abolished. On the basis of the common interests of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, people's intelligentsia, and working people of all nationalities, the sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society was formed. The working man became the full master of the country. THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY WAS BASICALLY BUILT IN THE USSR.

The Great Patriotic War was a stern test of the new system. Rallied around the party and displaying unprecedented heroism, the Soviet people and their Armed Forces dealt a crushing defeat to German fascism--the shock detachment of world imperialist reaction. By its victory the Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to the liberation of the European peoples from Nazi slavery and to the salvation of world civilization. The defeat of fascist Germany and militarist Japan opened up new opportunities for the peoples' struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, and socialism. The Soviet people's victory raised high the Soviet state's international prestige.

The USSR rapidly healed the grave wounds of the war, considerably strengthened its economic, scientific-technical, and defense potential, and strengthened

its international positions. SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY HAD WON FULLY AND DEFINITELY.

Relying on what had been achieved, Soviet society continued to make confident headway in economic, sociopolitical, and spiritual development. A unified national economic complex was formed in the country. Major new regions were developed in the north and east of the country, and the use of natural resources improved. There was a considerable increase in national income and social labor productivity. The standard of the people's prosperity was substantially improved and an imposing program of housing construction was implemented. The people's spiritual wealth was increased, a transition to universal secondary education was effected, and Soviet science and technology achieved outstanding successes. It was in the Soviet Union that the first atomic power station and the first atomic icebreaker were built, the first artificial earth satellite was launched, and the first manned spaceship set off.

Socialist social relations were strengthened. A new social and international community of people--the Soviet people--was formed. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat developed into the socialist state of the whole people.

Displaying bolshevik principledness and self-criticism, relying on the masses' support, the party performed a large amount of work to eliminate the consequences of the personality cult and deviations from Lenin's norms of party and state leadership and to rectify errors of a subjectivist, voluntarist nature. Soviet democracy was further developed and socialist legality was strengthened.

The Soviet people's staunch labor and major successes in the economy, the social and political spheres, science, and culture raised our country to new historical heights which opened up the stage of developed socialism.

The establishment of military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO was a historic achievement for socialism. It strengthened the positions of the USSR, the socialist countries, and all progressive forces and thwarted the calculations of imperialism's aggressive circles of winning a world nuclear war. The conservation of this equilibrium is an important factor for safeguarding peace and international security.

The experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries convincingly demonstrates the indisputable socioeconomic, political, ideological, and moral advantages of the new system as a level of man's progress superior to capitalism and it provides answers to questions which the bourgeois system cannot resolve.

Socialism is a society on whose banner are printed the words "Everything in the name of man, everything for the sake of man." This is a society in which:

--the means of production are in the hands of the people and an end has been put forever to man's exploitation of man, social oppression, the rule of a privileged minority, and the poverty and illiteracy of millions of people;

--very broad scope has been opened up for the dynamic and planned development of productive forces, and scientific-technical progress entails not unemployment but the steady improvement of the entire people's prosperity;

--an equal right to labor and its just reward in accordance with the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor" has been ensured and the population enjoys social boons like free medical services and education and housing for a minimal payment;

--the indestructible alliance of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia has been asserted, men and women have equal rights and guarantees of their implementation, a reliable path into the future has been opened up for the younger generation, and social security for labor veterans has been guaranteed;

--national inequality has been eliminated and the legal and actual equality and friendship and fraternity of all nations and ethnic groups have been asserted;

--genuine democracy--power wielded for the people and by the people themselves--has been established and is being developed and the citizens' increasingly broad and equal participation in the management of production, social, and state affairs has been ensured;

--the ideas of freedom, human rights, and the dignity of the individual have been filled with real content, the unity of rights and duties is being ensured, and the same laws and moral norms and the same discipline operate for one and all, and increasingly favorable conditions for the all-around development of the individual are taking shape;

--a truly humanitarian Marxist-Leninist ideology rules, the people's masses have been given access [narodnym massam otkryt dostup] to all sources of knowledge, and a progressive socialist culture has been created, absorbing all that is best from world culture;

--a socialist way of life based on social justice, collectivism, and comradely mutual aid has formed, giving the working person confidence in the future and spiritually and morally ennobling him as the creator of new social relations and of his own destiny.

Socialism is a society whose thoughts and actions in the international arena are aimed at supporting the people's desire for independence and social progress and are subordinated to the main task--preserving and strengthening peace.

At the new stage of historical development, the task of the all-around improvement of socialist society and the fuller, more efficient utilization of its potential and advantages with a view to further progress toward communism confronts our party and the Soviet people in all its magnitude.

II. The Struggle Between the Forces of Progress and Reaction in the Modern World

The worldwide historial process of social liberation which began with Great October was marked, after the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism, by the overthrow of the exploiters' power in a number of countries--in Europe, Asia, and later in America. SOCIALISM, WHICH ORIGINALLY BECAME A REALITY IN OUR COUNTRY, WAS TRANSFORMED INTO A WORLD SYSTEM. The Marxist-Leninist theory of building [postroyeniye] the new society has been tested in practice on an international scale, socialism has become established over vast areas of the world, and hundreds of millions of people are following the path of the creation of a communist civilization. More and more new peoples are denying capitalism their trust, will not link their prospects for development with it, and persistently seek and find ways for the socialist transformation of their countries.

Socialism's successes are all the more impressive in that they have been achieved in what is historically a very short time, in conditions of unceasing pressure from imperialism--from economic pressure and ideological subversion to direct attempts to organize counterrevolutionary coups and military aggression.

The significance of the experience accumulated in the socialist countries is unfading. The decades which have elapsed have enriched the practice of socialist building and graphically revealed the diversity of the socialist world. At the same time the experience of these decades testifies to the tremendous significance of the GENERAL LAWS OF SOCIALISM--such as: the power of the working people, with the working class having the leading role; leadership of society's development by a Communist Party armed with the ideology of scientific socialism; the establishment of social ownership of the basic means of production, and on this basis planned economic growth in the interests of the people; the implementation of the principle "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor"; the development of socialist democracy; equality and friendship of all nations and ethnic groups; the defense of revolutionary gains against the encroachments of class enemies.

The utilization of the general laws in the specific conditions of each of the socialist countries is the basis of their confident forward movement, the basis for overcoming the difficulties of growth and for resolving promptly the contradictions which arise, and represents the real contribution of the ruling communist parties to the general process of socialist development.

Socialism has called into being a new, unprecedented type of international relations which are developing among the socialist states. Their firm foundation is a socioeconomic and political system of a single type; Marxist-Leninist ideology; class solidarity; friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance in resolving the tasks of the building and defense of the new society; the struggle for peace, international security, and social progress; equality and respect for the independence and sovereignty of each state.

The relations of socialist internationalism have found their fullest embodiment in the SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. The community countries--the participants in CEMA and the Warsaw Pact Organization--are united by their common vital interests and goals and by bonds of broad, multifaceted cooperation, and coordinate their actions in international affairs. History has never yet seen a community of countries where nobody has or can have special rights or privileges, where international relations have truly become relations between peoples, where fruitful ties have become established and are developing at various level--from the highest party and state leadership to the labor collectives. The community augments the forces of the fraternal states in socialist building and helps to ensure their reliable security.

The objective requirement for increasing rapprochement between the socialist countries flows from socialism's very nature. Whereas in the capitalist world the law of unevenness of economic, sociopolitical, and cultural development operates and the strong countries grow rich by plundering the weak and reinforce their backwardness in every way, socialism creates the necessary conditions to bring [podyem] the less developed countries up to the level of the leading countries. The higher and more nearly uniform the socialist countries' level of social development is, the richer and deeper their cooperation and the more organic the process of their rapprochement are.

The formation of the world system of socialism and the formation and strengthening of the socialist community led to a RADICAL CHANGE IN THE CORRELATION OF FORCES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA in favor of the peoples fighting for social progress, democracy, national freedom, and peace. The socialist community is the most prestigious force of today, without which no question of world politics can be resolved; it is the firm bulwark of peace on earth, the most consistent defender of sound, peaceful, democratic principles in international relations, and the main obstacle in the path of imperialist reaction.

The young world of socialism, oriented toward the future, is opposed by the exploitative world of capitalism, which is still strong and dangerous, but has already passed its zenith. THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IS DEEPENING. Its sphere of domination is narrowing irreversibly, and it is becoming increasingly obvious that it is historically doomed.

Present-day capitalism differs in many respects from what it was at the beginning and even in the middle of the 20th century. In the conditions of state monopoly capitalism, which combines the strength of the monopolies and of the state, the conflict between the enormously increased productive forces and capitalist production relations becomes increasingly acute. The internal instability of the economy is intensified, which is expressed in the slowing of its overall growth rate and in the interweaving and deepening of cyclical and structural crises. Mass unemployment and inflation have become a chronic disease and budget deficits and state debts reach colossal scales.

A direct result of the capitalist concentration and internationalization of production is the strengthening of the transnational corporations, which extract huge profits through the exploitation of the working people on a worldwide scale. They not only undermine the sovereignty of liberated states,

but also encroach on the national interests of the developed capitalist countries.

In an attempt to adapt to the changed situation, the monopoly bourgeoisie capitalism constantly maneuvers. The capitalist state redistributes a significant proportion of national income in favor of big capital, in particular through the budget and seeks to place the latest scientific and technical achievements at its own service. The machinery of exploitation has become more complex and sophisticated. More and more profit is being squeezed out of the working people's skills, intellectual forces, and nervous energy.

In a situation of the growing influence of world socialism, from time to time the working people's class struggle forces the capitalists to make partial concessions and to make certain improvements in working conditions, remuneration, and social security. This is done in order to preserve what is most important--the domination of capital. But this maneuvering is increasingly frequently combined with coercive actions and a direct onslaught by the monopolies and the bourgeois state on the working people's living standard.

Under capitalism, the scientific and technical revolution entails grave social consequences. Millions of working people, thrown out of the gates of the enterprises, are condemned to loss of professional skills and to material privations and lose all confidence in the future. A significant proportion of young people cannot find an application for their efforts and knowledge and suffer because of the hopelessness of their situation. Mass unemployment persists whatever the short-term economic situation, and the real prospect of its further growth is fraught with the most serious shocks to capitalism as a social system [sistema].

The monopolies have seized dominant positions in the agrarian sector of the economy. The mass of farmers are forced out of production, and those who manage to survive hold on at the cost of excessive labor and privations. The fate of farmers' families depends entirely on market fluctuations and the arbitrary actions of the monopolies. The lot of the peasants in former colonies and semicolonies is especially grave. Small and medium-sized city businessmen are exploited more and more by big capital and are caught in a net of financial dependence.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries great numbers of people are underprivileged, without shelter, illiterate, and deprived of medical help. The ignominious discrimination against national minorities persists, and women's rights are encroached upon.

In the political sphere, imperialism is characterized by a trend toward the strengthening of reaction in all avenues. Where the working people, through a stubborn struggle, have secured certain democratic rights, state monopoly capitalism wages a persistent and, at times, cunningly disguised offensive against those rights. In situations where it is in danger, it does not hesitate to resort to political blackmail, repressions, terror, and punitive acts. Neofascism is increasingly active in the political arena. Where conventional forms of suppression of the working people do not work,

imperialism stalls and supports tyrannical regimes to take direct military reprisals against progressive forces. Seeking to weaken the working people's international solidarity, imperialism kindles and provokes national egotism, chauvinism and racism, and contempt for the rights and interests of other peoples and their national cultural and historical heritage.

The inhumane ideology of present-day capitalism does increasing damage to people's spiritual world. The cult of individualism, violence, and permissiveness, malicious anticommunism and the exploitation of culture as a source of profit lead to the propagation of spiritual aridity and moral degradation. Imperialism engendered the mass criminality and terrorism which have swept through capitalist society. The role of the bourgeois mass information media, which dull people's consciousness in the interests of the dominant class, is becoming increasingly pernicious.

THE UNEVENNESS OF DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTRIES WITHIN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IS DEEPENING. Three main [osnovnyye] centers of interimperialist rivalry have emerged: the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. The competitive struggle among them for markets, spheres of application of capital, raw materials sources, and superiority in the decisive spheres of scientific and technical progress is intensifying. New economic and political centers of rivalry are forming, above all in the Pacific and Latin America. Contradictions between bourgeois states are becoming exacerbated. The imperial ambitions and self-interested policy of the U.S. monopolies and their readiness, on the basis of selfish considerations, to sacrifice the interests and security of other states, even their allies, are giving rise to growing indignation and alarm in the world.

Imperialism bears the responsibility for the huge and deepening gap in levels of economic development between the industrial capitalist countries and the majority of states which have gained liberation, and for the persistence of extensive zones of hunger, poverty, and epidemic diseases in the world.

The more severely the course of historical development gnaws away at imperialism's positions, the more hostile to the peoples' interests the policy of its most reactionary forces becomes. Imperialism offers fierce [ozhestochennyy] resistance to social progress and makes attempts to halt the course of history, undermine socialism's positions, and take social revenge on a worldwide scale. The imperialist powers seek to coordinate their economic, political, and ideological strategy and try to create a common front of struggle against socialism and against all revolutionary, liberation movements.

Imperialism is reluctant to reckon with the political realities of the modern world. Ignoring the will of sovereign peoples, it seeks to deprive them of the right to choose their own path of development and threatens their security. This is the main reason for the outbreak of conflicts in various regions of the world.

The citadel of international reaction is U.S. imperialism. It is from here, above all, that the threat of war emanates. Laying claim to world domination, it arbitrarily declares whole continents to be zones of its "vital interests."

The policy which it pursues of hegemonism, diktat, and imposing unequal relations on other states, of supporting repressive antipopular regimes, and of discrimination against countries which are inconvenient to the United States sows disorganization in interstate economic and political relations and hampers their normal development.

The bloody war against Vietnam, the many years of blockade against Cuba, the flouting of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, the intervention in Lebanon, the armed occupation of defenseless Grenada, the aggressive actions against Nicaragua--these are just some of the countless crimes which will always be the most ignominious pages of imperialism's history.

Imperialism's greatest crime against the peoples is the race for nuclear and other arms which it has unleashed on an unprecedented scale. This brings the monopolies unheard-of profits. The enormous military spending is a grave burden on the working people's shoulders. The weapons-manufacturing monopolies, the generals, the state bureaucracy, the ideological apparatus, and militarized science, coming together to form the military-industrial complex, have become the most zealous champions and organizers of the policy of adventurism and aggression. The sinister alliance between the manufacturers of death and the imperialist state power is the buttress of extreme reaction, a constant and increasing source of the danger of war, and the convincing confirmation of the political, social, and moral bankruptcy of the capitalist system.

No "modifications" and maneuvers by present-day capitalism will or can abrogate the laws of its development, can eliminate the acute antagonism between labor and capital and between monopolies and society, or extract the historically doomed capitalist system from a state of all-embracing crisis. The dialectics of development are such that the same means that capitalism employs with a view to strengthening its positions inevitably lead to the exacerbation of all its profound contradictions. Imperialism is capitalism parasitical, decaying, and moribund, the eve of socialist revolution.

THE WORKING CLASS HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THE MAIN REVOLUTIONARY CLASS OF THE MODERN ERA. In the capitalist world it is the main force struggling to overthrow the exploiter system and build [postroyeniye] the new society.

Life confirms the Marxist-Leninist tenet about the growth of the role of the working class in society. The growing application of science in production is supplementing its ranks with highly skilled workers. During class battles the working class is rallied, creates its own political parties and trade union and other organizations, and conducts an economic, political, and ideological struggle against capitalism. The scale of this struggle is expanding, its forms are becoming more diverse, and its content is being enriched. The proletariat's fundamental interests are making the need to achieve the unity of the workers movement and solidarity actions by its detachments increasingly essential.

The young and rapidly growing working class in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is faced with difficult tasks. It is opposed both by

foreign capital and by local exploiters. Its political maturity and organization are increasing in struggle.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS THE VANGUARD OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT AND ALL FORCES OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS. Communists struggle for both the immediate and long-term goals of the working class, for the interests of all working people, and for social progress, the national liberation of the peoples, disarmament, and peace. The communist movement is the most influential ideological and political force of the present day.

The revolutionary parties of the working class are guided by the scientific theory of social development--Marxism-Leninism--and pursue a principled class policy. They are distinguished by their conviction of the historical inevitability that capitalism will be replaced by socialism, their clear understanding of the objective laws of socialist revolution in whatever forms--peaceful or nonpeaceful--it is implemented, and their ability to use the general principles of the struggle for socialism under the specific conditions of each country.

The strength of revolutionary parties lies in the fact that they firmly defend the rights and vital aspirations of the working people, indicate ways of escaping from bourgeois society's state of crisis, offer a real alternative to the exploiter system, and provide answers imbued with social optimism to the fundamental questions of the day. They are the genuine expressers and the most steadfast defenders of their countries' national interests.

The consistently class-based course enhances the communist parties' prestige despite the fact that imperialism's political and ideological apparatus is operating increasingly perfidiously, combining discrimination with the persecution of Communists and open anticommunist propaganda with support for those elements within the workers movement which oppose the class policy and international solidarity and advocate social reconciliation and partnership with the bourgeoisie. The monopoly bourgeoisie and reactionary forces attack Communists so fiercely precisely because they represent a movement which has deep roots in social development and reflects the most urgent interests of the people's masses.

A typical feature of our time is THE UPSURGE OF MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS IN THE NONSOCIALIST WORLD. In capitalist countries the antagonism between the monopolies and the vast majority of the population is deepening. The intelligentsia, employees, farmers, representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie and national minorities, women's organizations, young people, and students are becoming increasingly actively involved in the struggle against the domination of the monopolies and the reactionary policy of the ruling classes. People of various political outlooks are demanding that the militarization of society and the policy of aggression and war be ended and that racial and national discrimination, the infringement of women's rights, the deterioration in the position of the young generation, corruption, and the predatory attitude of the monopolies toward the utilization of natural resources and the environment be ended. These movements are objectively aimed against the policy of reactionary imperialist circles and merge into the common stream of the struggle for peace and social progress.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE OF PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES THAT HAVE THROWN OFF THE COLONIAL YOKE TO STRENGTHEN THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND ENSURE SOCIAL PROGRESS is an integral part of the world revolutionary process. The collapse of imperialism's colonial system and the emergence of dozens of independent states on its ruins was the historic gain of the national liberation revolutions and movements which substantially influenced the correlation of forces in the world.

In the years of independence many of them have achieved notable successes in economic and cultural building and in strengthening their national statehood. Collective forms of these countries' struggle for their rights in the international arena have emerged. But experience has shown that their path to strengthening political independence and to ensuring economic and social renewal is seriously complicated by the legacy of the colonial and semicolonial past and the actions of imperialism.

In pursuing a policy of neocolonialism, imperialism is striving to emasculate the sovereignty gained by the young states and to maintain and even step up control over them. It is trying to draw them into the militarist orbit and use them as springboards for its aggressive global strategy. In striving to achieve these goals, the imperialists use methods of military pressure and economic diktat and support domestic reaction. Even countries that have long since won state independence--the Latin American states, for instance--have been forced to wage an intense struggle against the domination of the monopolies of the United States and the other imperialist powers.

Exploiting the economic and technological dependence and the unequal position of the liberated countries in the world capitalist economy, imperialism mercilessly exploits them, exacting tributes running into many billions [currency not specified] and exhausting these states' economies. The gigantic debt of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to the industrially developed capitalist states has become an important channel for their exploitation by imperialism, first and foremost U.S. imperialism. At the same time the resistance of these countries' peoples to the policy of looting and piracy is growing. They are continuing a persistent and just struggle against neocolonialism, interference in their internal affairs, racism, and apartheid. This resistance objectively merges with the common anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples for freedom, peace, and social progress.

The noncapitalist path of development, THE PATH OF A SOCIALIST ORIENTATION, selected by a number of liberated countries, opens up broad prospects for social progress. Their experience confirms that under contemporary conditions, given the correlation of forces existing in the world, the opportunities are broadened for previously enslaved peoples to overthrow capitalism and to build a future without exploiters, in the interests of the working people. This is a phenomenon of great historic significance.

Overcoming the resistance of internal and external reaction, the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties are pursuing a course toward the liquidation of the domination of the imperialist monopolies, of the tribal elite, feudalists, and reactionary bourgeoisie, toward strengthening the state sector

in the economy, encouraging the cooperative movement in the countryside, and enhancing the role of the working masses in economic and political life. Protecting their independence from the onslaught of the imperialists, these countries are expanding cooperation with the socialist states. The path they have selected accords with the genuine interests and aspirations of the peoples' masses, reflects their aspiration for a just social system, and coincides with the main avenue of historical development.

THE MOST ACUTE PROBLEM FACING MANKIND IS THE PROBLEM OF WAR AND PEACE. Imperialism is to blame for two world wars which exacted a toll of many tens of millions of lives. It creates the threat of a third world war. Imperialism places the achievements of human genius at the service of the creation of weapons of monstrous destructive force. The policy of imperialist circles which are prepared to sacrifice the fates of whole peoples intensifies the danger that such weapons might be put into action. Ultimately this threatens a global military conflict as a result of which there would prove to be neither victors nor vanquished, but world civilization could perish.

The question as to which purposes the fruits of the scientific and technical revolution will be used for has become one of the chief questions in the contemporary sociopolitical struggle. Science and technology in our time provide the opportunity to ensure on each an abundance of blessings, to create material conditions for the flourishing of society and for the development of the individual. But they--these creations of man's intellect and hands--are being turned against man himself, by dint of class egoism and for the sake of the enrichment of the elite which holds sway in the capitalist world. Such is the flagrant contradiction with which mankind has arrived at the threshold of the 21st century.

In themselves, science and technology do not carry a threat to peace; but this threat is carried by imperialism and its policy--the policy of the most reactionary militarist, aggressive forces of the present time. Only by curbing these forces can this threat be done away with.

In a world packed with acute contradictions and in the face of the threatening catastrophe, there is just one sensible, just one acceptable way out--THE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. This is not simply an absence of wars. It is the kind of international order whereby not military force, but good-neighborliness and cooperation would predominate and whereby a broad exchange of the achievements of science and technology and cultural values for the benefit of all peoples would take place. Deliverance from the expenditure of enormous resources on military needs would make it possible to channel the fruits of labor exclusively toward creative goals. States which have embarked on the path of independent development would be protected from outside encroachments, which would facilitate their movement along the path of national and social upsurge. Favorable opportunities would also be revealed for the solution of global problems by the collective efforts of all states. Peaceful coexistence accords with the interests of all countries and all peoples.

There has never been such an awesome danger hanging over mankind. But neither have there ever been such real opportunities to preserve and strengthen peace.

By pooling their efforts, the peoples can and must avert the threat of nuclear annihilation.

The growing potential of the forces of peace is confronting the aggressive policy of imperialism. These include the active, consistently peace-loving policy of the socialist states and their strengthening [krepnushchiy] economic and defense might. It includes the policy of the vast majority of the states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America who have a vital interest in the preservation of peace and the ending of the arms race. It includes the antiwar movements of the broadest people's masses on all continents, movements which have become a long-term and influential factor of public life. A sober reckoning of the real correlation of forces is even leading many politicians of capitalist states to an understanding of the danger of continuing and expanding the arms race.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that however great may be the threat to peace being created by the policy of the aggressive forces of imperialism, THERE IS NO FATAL INEVITABILITY OF WORLD WAR. IT IS POSSIBLE TO AVERT WAR AND TO SAFEGUARD MANKIND FROM CATASTROPHE. THIS IS THE HISTORIC VOCATION OF SOCIALISM AND OF ALL PROGRESSIVE, PEACE-LOVING FORCES OF OUR PLANET.

The whole course of world development confirms the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the nature and basic content of the contemporary epoch. THIS IS THE EPOCH OF THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM, OF THE HISTORIC COMPETITION OF THE TWO WORLD SOCIOPOLITICAL SYSTEMS, THE EPOCH OF SOCIALIST AND NATIONAL LIBERATION REVOLUTIONS, OF THE DOWNFALL OF COLONIALISM, THE EPOCH OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHIEF MOTIVE FORCES OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT--WORLD SOCIALISM, THE WORKERS AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, THE PEOPLES OF THE LIBERATED STATES AND THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS--AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ITS POLICY OF AGGRESSION AND OPPRESSION, AND FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

The constant growth of these forces and their interaction is a guarantee that the hopes of the peoples for a peaceful, free, and happy life will be translated into reality. For all its unevenness, complexity, and contradictoriness, mankind's movement toward socialism and communism is inexorable.

Part Two. The CPSU's Tasks for the Improvement of Socialism and the Gradual Transition to Communism

I. The Communist Perspective of the USSR and the Need to Accelerate Socioeconomic Development

The CPSU's ultimate goal is the building [postroyeniye] of communism in our country. Socialism and communism are two successive phases of the single communist formation. There is no sharp boundary between them: the development of socialism, the increasingly full revelation and utilization of its potential and advantages, and the consolidation of its inherent general communist principles in fact signify society's real advance toward communism.

COMMUNISM IS A CLASSLESS SOCIAL SYSTEM WITH THE UNIFIED OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION BY THE ENTIRE PEOPLE, WITH FULL SOCIAL EQUALITY FOR ALL MEMBERS

OF THE SOCIETY WHERE PRODUCTION FORCES WILL GROW ALONGSIDE PEOPLE'S ALL-AROUND DEVELOPMENT ON THE BASIS OF CONSTANTLY DEVELOPING SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, ALL SOURCES OF PUBLIC WEALTH WILL MERGE IN A FULL STREAM AND THE GREAT PRINCIPLE "FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS ABILITIES AND TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS" WILL BE IMPLEMENTED. COMMUNISM IS A HIGHLY ORGANIZED SOCIETY OF FREE AND AWARE WORKERS IN WHICH SOCIAL SELF-MANAGEMENT WILL BE ASSERTED, LABOR FOR THE BENEFIT OF SOCIETY WILL BECOME THE FIRST VITAL REQUIREMENT AND CONSCIOUS NEED FOR EVERYONE, AND EACH PERSON'S ABILITIES WILL BE USED TO THE PEOPLE'S GREATEST BENEFIT.

Communism's material-technical base presupposes the creation of production forces which open up opportunities for the full satisfaction of the sensible requirements of society and the individual. All production activity under the conditions of communism will be built on the use of highly effective technical means and technologies, and man's harmonious interaction with nature will be ensured.

At the highest phase of communist formation, the directly social nature of labor and production will be asserted in full. As a result of the definitive overcoming of vestiges of the old division of labor and the connected substantial social differences, the process of the formation of a socially homogeneous society will be completed.

Communism marks the transformation of the system of the people's socialist self-management and of socialist democracy into the highest form of society's organization--communist social self-management. As the necessary socioeconomic and ideological prerequisites develop and all citizens are enlisted to management, given the existence of the appropriate international conditions, the socialist state, as V.I. Lenin noted, will increasingly become the transitional form from "state to nonstate." The activity of state organs will acquire a nonpolitical nature and the need for the state as a special political institution will gradually disappear.

An inalienable feature of the communist tenor of life is a high standard of awareness, public activeness, discipline, and self-discipline on the part of the members of society whereby the observance of the same universally accepted rules of communist intercourse will become an innate need and habit for every person.

Communism is a social system in which the free development of each person is a condition for the free development of all.

The CPSU does not set the aim of anticipating in every detail the features of full communism. As we advance toward it and as experience of communist buildings accumulated, scientific notions of the supreme phase of the new society will be enriched and given concrete form.

Socialism's development into communism is defined by the objective laws of the development of society, which have to be considered. Experience shows that any attempts to rush ahead and to introduce communist principles without a consideration for society's level of material and spiritual maturity are doomed to fail and may generate economic and political losses.

At the same time the CPSU proceeds from the premise that dilatoriness cannot be allowed in implementing urgent transformations and resolving new tasks. The party believes that in the seventies and early eighties, alongside the undoubted successes which were achieved, there were certain unfavorable tendencies and difficulties. They are connected to a considerable degree with the fact that changes in the economic situation and the need for in-depth transformations in all spheres of life were not promptly and properly assessed and due persistence was not displayed in their implementation. This prevented the fuller utilization of the opportunities [vozmozhnosti] and advantages of the socialist system and held back our advance.

The CPSU believes that under present-day domestic and international conditions, Soviet society's all-around progress and advance toward communism can and must be ensured on the paths of THE ACCELERATION OF THE COUNTRY'S SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. That is the party's strategic course aimed at the qualitative transformation of all aspects of the life of Soviet society: the fundamental renovation of its material-technical base on the basis of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution; the improvement of social relations and above all of economic relations; in-depth changes in the content and nature of labor and of the material and spiritual conditions of people's lives; and the activation of the entire system of political, social, and ideological institutions.

The party connects the successful solution of the projected tasks with THE ENHANCED ROLE OF THE HUMAN FACTOR. Socialist society cannot function effectively without finding new ways of developing the masses' creative activity in all spheres of life. The greater the scale of the historical goals, the more important it is that millions should, with a proprietorial interest, take a responsible, aware, and active part in their achievement.

On the basis of accelerating socioeconomic development, Soviet society must scale new heights, which means:

In THE ECONOMIC FIELD--the raising of the national economy to a fundamentally new scientific-technical and organizational-economic level and its transition to an intensive development footing; the attainment of the highest world level of social labor productivity, output quality, and production efficiency; the ensuring of the optimum structure and balance for the country's unified national economic complex; a considerable improvement to the standard of socialization of labor and production; and the approximation of kolkhoz and cooperative ownership to ownership by all the people and in the long term the merging of the two.

In THE SOCIAL FIELD--the ensuring of a qualitatively new standard for the people's prosperity while consistently implementing the socialist principle of distribution according to labor; the creation of a basically classless structure of society and the erasing of the major socioeconomic and cultural and consumer differences between city and countryside; the increasingly organic union of physical and mental labor in production activity; the Soviet people's further cohesion as a social and international community; the masses' high standard of creative energy and initiative;

In THE POLITICAL FIELD--the development of the people's socialist self-management through the increasingly full involvement of citizens in the management of state and public affairs; the improvement of the activity of the elected organs of people's power; the enhanced role of trade unions, the Komsomol, and the working people's other mass organizations; and the effective use of all forms of representative and direct democracy;

In THE FIELD OF SPIRITUAL LIFE--the further consolidation of socialist ideology in Soviet people's consciousness; the full assertion of the moral principles of socialism and the spirit of collectivism and comradely mutual aid; the provision of access for the broad masses of the population to the achievements of science and the values of culture; and the formation of a comprehensively developed individual.

The result of these transformations will be a qualitatively new state for Soviet society, which reveals in full the new system's tremendous advantages in all spheres of life. A historic step forward will thus be taken on the path toward the supreme phase of communism. The party will constantly correlate its policy, economic and social strategy, and tasks of organizational and ideological work to the communist perspective.

II. The Party's Economic Strategy

The task set by the party of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development requires profound shifts first and foremost in that decisive sphere of human activity--the economy. A sharp turn toward production intensification must be implemented and each enterprise and each sector must be reoriented toward the complete and priority utilization of the qualitative factors of economic growth. The transition to a more highly organized and more highly efficient economy with comprehensively developed productive forces and production relations and a well-adjusted economic mechanism must be ensured. By the year 2000 the country's production potential must be doubled and fundamentally, qualitatively renewed.

The party and the people are resolving these tasks under conditions of the further deepening of the scientific and technical revolution, which has a powerful influence on all aspects of modern production, on the entire system of social relations, and on man himself and the environment he inhabits and opens up new prospects for considerably increasing labor productivity and the progress of society as a whole.

Socialism's historic vocation is to place the achievements of advanced science, the most sophisticated and powerful technology, and the growing force of creative collective labor at the service of communist building.

Accelerating Scientific and Technical Progress Is The Main Lever for Improving Production Efficiency

The fundamental question of the party's economic strategy is to cardinally accelerate scientific and technical progress. We are faced with IMPLEMENTING

A NEW TECHNICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY and on that basis transforming society's material and technical base.

The rapid RENEWAL OF THE PRODUCTION APPARATUS THROUGH THE WIDESPREAD INTRODUCTION OF ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY and the most progressive technological processes and flexible production systems making it possible to switch swiftly to the production of new output and providing the greatest economic and social effect is of paramount importance. Comprehensive mechanization must be completed [neobkhodimo zavershit] in all sectors of the production and nonproduction sphere and a major step must be taken in the automation of production with the transition to automated shops and enterprises and automated control and design systems. The electrification, chemicalization, robotization, and computerization of production will be carried out on an increasingly wide scale, as will the application of biotechnology.

The party will promote in every possible way the further buildup and efficient utilization of the country's SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL POTENTIAL and the development of scientific research that opens up new opportunities for major, revolutionary shifts in economic intensification. The universal introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology into production, management, and the service and leisure spheres must be ensured. Science will fully become a direct productive force.

On the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the fundamental transformations in equipment and technology, and the mobilization of all technical, organizational, economic, and social factors a considerable INCREASE IN LABOR PRODUCTIVITY, without which, as V.I. Lenin taught, "the final transition to communism is impossible," must be achieved. It is planned to increase labor productivity by 130-150 percent over the next 15 years as an important landmark along the road to the highest labor productivity.

It is necessary to make maximum use of the reserves of labor productivity growth at each association, enterprise, and workplace. It is necessary to ensure the reduction of the labor-intensiveness of articles, the reduction of losses of work time, the introduction of the latest equipment and technology, the strengthening of order and discipline, the improvement of norm setting, the widespread use of progressive forms of scientific labor organization, the growth of production standards, the stability of labor collectives, and the development of invention and rationalization.

Scientific and technical progress must be aimed at radically improving the UTILIZATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES, RAW AND OTHER MATERIALS, FUEL, AND ENERGY at all stages—from the extraction and comprehensive processing of raw materials to the production and utilization of end products. It is necessary to accelerate the pace of the reduction of the material-, metal-, and energy-intensiveness of national income. Resource-saving will be a decisive source for satisfying the growth in the national economy's requirements for fuel, energy, and raw and other materials.

The party's economic policy and all practical work is centered on the task of RAISING THE TECHNICAL STANDARD AND QUALITY OF OUTPUT in every possible way. Soviet output must embody the latest achievements of scientific thought,

correspond to the highest technical and economic, aesthetic, and other consumer demands, and be competitive in the world market. Improving its quality is a reliable way of more fully satisfying the country's need for necessary articles and the population's growing demand for various goods. Low quality and substandard goods represent a waste of material resources and the people's labor. The party will actively support the struggle for the honor of the Soviet brand. Output quality must be a matter of professional and patriotic pride.

The effectiveness of scientific and technical progress depends not only on increasing the production of the latest equipment but also on the BETTER UTILIZATION OF FIXED CAPITAL and increasing the productivity of each unit of equipment and each square meter of production area. The prevailing trend of a decline in the return on capital must be overcome and an increase in it must be ensured in the future.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress makes higher demands on working people's general and vocational education. The line of improving the entire system of training and increasing the qualifications of cadres and systematically ensuring balance between workplaces and manpower resources in all sectors and regions of the country will be persistently pursued.

The struggle for the comprehensive intensification and rationalization of production and its supreme efficiency on the basis of scientific and technical progress is organically combined under conditions of the planned socialist economic system with the implementation of the humanitarian goals of Soviet society, full employment, and the steady improvement of all aspects of people's lives.

The Structural Reorganization of Social Production

The transition to the path of intensification requires serious STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE ECONOMY. The national economy must undergo a flexible and timely structuring in line with the progressive shifts in science, equipment, technology, and social and individual needs. It is necessary to develop at a higher rate sectors ensuring scientific and technical progress and the successful resolution of social tasks and to seek the optimum correlation between consumption and accumulation and improvements in the proportions between the production of means of production and objects of consumption on the one hand and the agro-industrial complex sectors on the other. The social orientation of the economy will be stepped up and the switch to the fuller satisfaction of the Soviet people's growing needs will be consistently implemented.

In this connection new demands are made on INVESTMENT POLICY. It is called upon to ensure an increase in the effectiveness of capital investments and their concentration in the decisive sectors on which depend the rapid achievement of the highest national economic effect, the balanced development of the economy, and the obtaining of the greatest growth in output and national income per ruble of expenditure. It is necessary to shift the center of gravity away from new construction to the technical retooling and modernization of existing enterprises, to considerably increase the proportion

of funds channeled into these goals in the total volume of production capital investment, and to increase the proportion of expenditure on equipment and machines in that investment. The paramount task is to improve the correlation between capital investments in resource-extracting, processing, and consuming sectors and to redistribute funds in favor of sectors that ensure the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

Turning the USSR's economy into the most sophisticated and powerful in the world requires the further development of HEAVY INDUSTRY--the foundation of economic might.

The party allots the key role in the realization of the latest achievements of science and technology to MACHINE BUILDING. The acceleration of its rate of growth is the basis of scientific and technical progress in all sectors of the national economy and for maintaining the country's defense capability at the proper level, and is the main direction of the economy's development for the future. Machine building is called upon to produce systems and complexes of machines, equipment, and instruments of the highest technical and economic standards, systems and complexes that ensure revolutionary changes in technology and the organization of production, manifold increases in labor productivity, reductions in material- and energy-intensiveness, improvements in output quality, and growth in return on capital. Machine tool building, the electrical equipment industry, microelectronics, computer equipment, instrument-making, and the entire information technology industry--the genuine catalysts of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress--will receive priority development.

It is necessary to strengthen the potential of and implement a qualitative shift in metallurgy, the chemical industry, and other sectors of heavy industry that produce STRUCTURAL MATERIALS, to constantly expand the range and improve the quality of materials, and to increase the output of the most economic and progressive new types of these materials.

A most important task is to efficiently develop THE COUNTRY'S FUEL AND ENERGY COMPLEX. The steady satisfaction of the country's growing needs for various types of fuel and energy requires the improvement of the structure of the fuel and energy balance, the accelerated boosting of the nuclear power industry, the extensive utilization of renewable sources of energy, and consistent and purposeful work to save fuel and energy resources in all sectors of the national economy.

An indispensable condition of socioeconomic progress is to further strengthen and enhance the efficiency of the AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX and to fully satisfy the country's needs for its products. Agriculture's switch to an industrial basis must be completed, scientific farming systems and intensive techniques must be introduced everywhere, land utilization must be improved and its fertility increased, considerable growth in the yields of agricultural crops and in livestock productivity must be ensured, the feed base must be strengthened, the stability of agricultural production must be ensured, its dependence on unfavorable natural and climatic conditions must be reduced, and losses of the harvest that is produced and of stockraising output must be precluded. Agro-industrial integration and interfarm production sharing will

be stepped up; and the technology, techniques, and organization of the production, procurement, transportation, storage, and processing of agricultural produce will be raised to a new level.

Kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and agro-industrial associations and enterprises, which constitute the basis of socialist agriculture, are called upon to make a decisive contribution to meeting the country's needs for agricultural produce. At the same time, enterprises' subsidiary farms and citizens' private plots, collective horticulture, and truck farming will be used to supplement food resources.

The CPSU will channel efforts into ensuring accelerated growth of the production of CONSUMER GOODS AND THE ENTIRE SERVICES SPHERE in the interests of their all-around satisfaction of Soviet people's needs. Enterprises, associations, and organizations in all sectors of the national economy must be involved in this.

The party allots an important role in improving the country's unified national economic complex to retooling and increasing the efficiency of the work of sectors of the PRODUCTION INFRASTRUCTURE--the electricity, oil, and gas supply systems; communications; and information support for the national economy. Special attention will be devoted to developing a unified transportation system, improving all its components, and creating a ramified network of roads with all necessary amenities.

The technical and economic standard of CONSTRUCTION must be substantially improved, construction work must be turned into a unified industrial process, the quality of project and construction work must be increased and its cost reduced, and the time taken to construct projects and assimilate production capacities must be shortened.

The party will continue to devote unremitting attention to improving the SITING OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES, which must ensure savings in social labor and the comprehensive and highly efficient development of each region. On the basis of the deepening of the social division of labor, the national economies of all union republics will be further developed and their contribution to satisfying the country's needs will increase. The structure of existing territorial production complexes and economic ties must be further improved and enterprises engaged in the processing of raw materials must be sited as close as possible to the areas where these materials are extracted. It is necessary to make fuller use of the potential of small and medium-sized towns and worker settlements by siting in them specialized production facilities linked with the production of output under production sharing agreements with large enterprises and with the processing of agricultural and local raw materials and the provision of services to the population.

The accelerated development of the productive forces of SIBERIA AND THE FAR EAST has been and continues to be part and parcel of the party's economic strategy. Strictly ensuring the comprehensive solution of production tasks and developing the entire social infrastructure in the interests of improving people's working and living conditions are of particular economic and political importance in opening up new regions.

In defining the prospects for national economic development, the CPSU proceeds from the need to improve FOREIGN ECONOMIC STRATEGY and to make fuller use of the potential of the mutually advantageous international division of labor and, first and foremost, of the advantages of socialist economic integration. Foreign economic, scientific, and technical ties will be deepened and progressive structural shifts will be implemented in exports and imports in the interests of improving national economic efficiency and ensuring independence from capitalist countries in strategically important avenues.

Improving Socialist Production Relations, the Management System, and Economic Management Methods

The constant improvement of production relations, the maintenance of a stable correlation between them and the dynamically developing production forces, and the prompt exposure and resolution of the nonantagonistic contradictions which arise between them are necessary preconditions of the acceleration of society's socioeconomic progress.

The party's attention will continue to be centered on the STRENGTHENING AND AUGMENTATION OF SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, which is the basis of socialism's economic system. It is necessary to further increase the level of socialization of production and its planned organization and to steadily improve the forms and methods of realization of the advantages and potential of ownership by the whole people.

The boosting of agriculture's production forces and the development of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration will promote the further rapprochement and, in the long term, the merging of kolkhoz-cooperative ownership with ownership by the whole people. This will take place as a result of the all-around development and strengthening of the two forms of socialist ownership and the increasingly full realization of the potential of the kolkhoz-cooperative sector of the economy.

The party will persistently develop in the labor collectives and in every working person a sense of proprietorship in relation to public property and will adopt the necessary measures to protect socialist property, cut short any attempts to use it for self-interested purposes, eradicate methods of appropriation of goods which are alien to socialism, and safeguard citizens' constitutional right to personal property.

The party attaches great significance to IMPROVING DISTRIBUTION RELATIONS, which have an active influence on the growth of collective and personal interest in the development of social production and on people's standard of living and way of life. The line of ensuring the most efficient distribution of the social product and national income and of ensuring that the machinery of distribution serves as a reliable barrier to unearned income and to leveling in labor remuneration--to everything that is contrary to the norms and principles of the socialist society--will be consistently pursued. It is necessary to exercise strict control of the extent of labor and the extent of consumption, to step up the interest of collectives and of every worker in the

attainment of the best national economic results, and to skillfully combine material and moral incentives for labor activity.

The further development of the RELATIONS OF EXCHANGE is an urgent task. It is necessary to increase the reliability of economic ties, seek a dynamic correlation between demand and supply, improve the circulation of material and monetary resources, and accelerate the turnover of circulating capital.

With a view to increasing production efficiency and improving distribution, exchange, and consumption, it is important to make fuller use of the money-goods relationship in accordance with the new content which is inherent in it under socialism. It is necessary to strengthen the thrift policy and the monitoring of the quantity and quality of work, to use the entire arsenal of economic levers and incentives, to strengthen the state budget, and to increase the purchasing power of the ruble.

The acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development requires the constant IMPROVEMENT OF LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY and the reliable and efficient functioning of the economic machinery, which incorporates diverse, flexible forms and methods of economic management, and efforts to ensure that these conform to the changing conditions of economic development and the nature of the tasks being resolved.

The improvement of management should be based on the more profound, comprehensive utilization of the advantages and potential of the socialist planned system of the economy and economic laws and should take full account of changes in production forces and production relations and the rise in the level of education, consciousness, skills, and experience of the broad masses of working people. It is called upon to ensure the optimum combination of personal interests and the interests of labor collectives and various social groups on the one hand and the interests of the whole state and the whole people on the other, and thus to utilize those interests as the motive force for economic growth.

The entire management system must be oriented toward increasing the contribution of each component of the national economy to the attainment of the supreme goal--the fullest possible satisfaction of society's requirements. The all-around building up of this contribution with the lowest possible expenditure of all types of resources is an essential law of socialist economic management and a basic criterion in assessing the activity of sectors, associations and enterprises, and all production cells.

It is necessary to ensure the consistent implementation of Leninist management principles and above all the principle of DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, which expresses the unity of its two bases--increasing the effectiveness of centralized leadership and significantly extending the economic autonomy and responsibility of associations and enterprises.

The attention of central management organs should be concentrated to an ever increasing degree on the resolution of the strategic tasks of economic and social development and the practical implementation of an integrated policy in the sphere of scientific and technical progress and capital investments,

structural shifts in the national economy, the proportionality of social production and the strengthening of the system of planned statewide reserves, the siting of production forces, labor remuneration and social security, prices, tariffs, finance, accounting, and statistics.

The party considers it necessary to increase the effectiveness of PLANNING as an instrument for the realization of its economic policy. Planning is called upon to be an active lever for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, the intensification of production on the basis [na base] of scientific and technical progress, and the implementation of progressive economic decisions, and to ensure balanced and dynamic economic growth. A leading place in the plans should belong to qualitative indicators which reflect the efficiency of utilization of resources, the scale of renewal of output, and the growth of labor productivity on the basis of the achievements of science and technology. It is necessary to resolve economic and social tasks comprehensively, to organically [organichno] combine long-term, 5-year, and annual plans, to make planning more scientific, to strengthen plan discipline, to ensure that statewide interests take priority, and to resolutely cut short any manifestations of departmentalism, parochialism, bureaucracy, and voluntarism. A substantial improvement is required in the work of the finance and credit system, and its influence on increasing production efficiency and strengthening monetary circulation and financial autonomy must be stepped up.

In developing centralized principles in management and planning and the resolution of strategic tasks, the party will actively implement MEASURES TO INCREASE THE ROLE OF THE BASIC PRODUCTION COMPONENT--associations and enterprises--and consistently pursue the line of extending their rights and economic autonomy and stepping up their responsibility and interest in the attainment of high end results. Day-to-day economic work must be concentrated at local level--in the labor collectives.

The party deems it necessary to further develop and increase the effectiveness of FINANCIAL AUTONOMY and to ensure the consistent transition of enterprises and associations to full financial autonomy, strengthening the economic levers and reducing the number of indicators set by higher organizations. The activity of associations and enterprises will be governed increasingly by long-term economic normatives which offer scope for initiative and creativity on the part of labor collectives. Measures to improve management from above should be combined with the development of collective forms of labor organization and incentives from below. The system of levers and incentives is called upon to give real advantages to labor collectives which achieve successes in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, produce better output, and increase the profitability of production. The opportunities and rights of associations and enterprises to dispose of the resources they earn for the purposes of developing production, providing material incentives for collectives, and resolving social questions will increase.

Wholesale trade will be extended, the role of direct ties and economic contracts between consumer enterprises and the manufacturers of output will be

increased, and the consumer's influence on the technical standard and quality of output will be strengthened.

PRICING should be improved, so that prices more accurately reflect the level of socially necessary expenditure as well as the quality of products and services, more actively stimulate scientific and technical progress, resource-saving, the improvement of the technical, economic, and consumer properties of articles, and the introduction of everything that is new and advanced, and help to strengthen the thrift policy.

The CPSU sets the task of consistently improving the ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF MANAGEMENT of the national economy at all levels, reducing the management apparatus, and eliminating superfluous components. It is necessary to improve the management of major national economic complexes and groups of interconnected similar sectors, to seek the rational combination of large, medium, and small enterprises and of sector and territorial management, to extend the network and improve the work of production and science-and-production associations, to deepen specialization, and to develop integration and production sharing.

The attention of intersectorial and sectorial management organs will be concentrated on the most important avenues of the sectors' development and the introduction of scientific and technical achievements. They should bear the responsibility for the full satisfaction of the requirements of the national economy and the population for output in the range and product mix laid down. There will be an increase in the role and responsibility of republican and local organs in the management of economic and sociocultural building and the satisfaction of the working people's needs, and these organs' rights will be extended.

In all the work to improve leadership of the economy, the CPSU will consistently pursue a LINE OF DEVELOPING THE WORKING PEOPLE'S CREATIVE INITIATIVE AND INVOLVING THEM INCREASINGLY FULLY IN THE PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT PROCESS and of increasing the labor collectives' role in the elaboration of plans, the adoption of economic decisions, and the implementation of measures relating to the socioeconomic development of enterprises and to seeking out and mobilizing internal production reserves. Thrift, the skillful expenditure of the people's resources, the rational use of every ruble, the eradication of thriftlessness, and the elimination of various nonproductive types of expenditure and losses--this is the cause of the whole party and the whole people, the cause of every labor collective and every worker.

The development of SOCIALIST COMPETITION is the subject of the party's constant attention. This is a most important sphere for the development of the working people's creativity and one of the basic means of self-assertion and social recognition for the individual. On the basis of the Leninist principles of publicity, comparability of results, and possibility of reproducing front-ranking results, it is necessary to improve the organization and enhance the effectiveness of competition, eradicate formalism and stereotyped approaches, and develop the spirit of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance. Very great significance is attached to supporting in every way the masses' initiative and creativity aimed at accelerating scientific and

technical progress, increasing labor productivity, ensuring the thrifty use of resources, enhancing production efficiency and output quality, reducing the prime cost of output, ensuring an efficient labor rhythm and the prompt fulfillment of contract commitments, and achieving the best national economic results.

III. The Party's Social Policy

The party regards social policy as a powerful means of accelerating the country's development, boosting the masses' labor and sociopolitical activeness, molding the new person, and establishing the socialist way of life, and as an important factor in society's political stability [ustoychivost]. The party proceeds on the basis that the influence of social policy on increasing the economy's efficiency and on all aspects of public life will be strengthened. The CPSU regards unremitting concern for the resolution of the social questions of labor, everyday life, and culture and for the satisfaction of people's interests and needs as a law of the activity of all state and economic organs and public organizations.

The party advances as the MAIN TASKS OF SOCIAL POLICY:

--steadily improving Soviet people's living and working conditions;

--implementing increasingly fully the principle of social justice in all spheres of social relations;

--effecting the rapprochement of classes and social groups and strata and overcoming the substantial differences between mental and physical labor and city and countryside;

--perfecting national relations and strengthening the fraternal friendship of the country's nations and ethnic groups.

Increasing the Prosperity and Improving the Working and Living Conditions of Soviet People

The production and spiritual potential created in the country and the tasks of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development make possible and essential substantial progress toward achieving the "COMPLETE prosperity and free ALL-AROUND development of ALL members of society" (V.I. Lenin).

The CPSU sets the task of raising Soviet people's prosperity to a qualitatively new level and ensuring a level and structure of consumption of material, social, and cultural benefits that will correspond to the greatest extent to the objectives of shaping a harmoniously developed and spiritually rich individual and creating the necessary conditions for the full revelation of Soviet people's abilities and talents in the interests of society.

Already in the next 5-year period it is planned to double the volume of resources aimed at satisfying the people's requirements.

THE PARTY ATTACHES PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO INTENSIFYING THE CREATIVE CONTENT AND COLLECTIVIST NATURE OF LABOR, RAISING ITS STANDARD [KULTURA], AND ENCOURAGING HIGHLY SKILLED AND HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE WORK FOR THE BENEFIT OF SOCIETY. All this will promote the gradual transformation of labor into a prime necessity of life for every Soviet person.

Another task which lies ahead is to continue to implement a package of scientific, technical, economic, and social measures ensuring full and effective employment for the population and enabling all able-bodied citizens to work in their chosen sphere of activity in accordance with their vocation, abilities, education, and professional training taking social requirements into account.

The line aimed at considerably reducing manual labor, substantially reducing and, in the long term, eliminating monotonous, heavy physical and low-skilled labor, ensuring healthy sanitary and hygiene conditions, and introducing sophisticated safety equipment eliminating accidents at work and occupational diseases will be consistently pursued. The intensification and enhancement of production efficiency and labor productivity will open up new opportunities in the long term for shortening the work day and increasing the length of paid leave.

THE PARTY WILL CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING NECESSARY TO STEADILY INCREASE WORKING PEOPLE'S REAL INCOMES AND FURTHER BOOST [podem] THE PROSPERITY OF ALL STRATA AND SOCIAL GROUPS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC POTENTIAL.

Labor remuneration remains the basic source of working people's income throughout the first phase of communism. It is necessary to constantly improve the wages system so that it fully accords with the principle of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of labor and its conditions and results and promotes the growth of working people's skill and labor productivity, output quality, and the rational use and saving of all types of resources. It is on precisely this basis that working people's wages and living standards must grow. The level of minimum wages will increase and the line aimed at reducing taxes on the population will be continued in line with the growth of public wealth. The party attaches fundamental significance to resolutely eradicating unearned income, any deviations from socialist principles of distribution.

There will be a continuation of the accelerated growth and improvement of the distribution of SOCIAL CONSUMPTION FUNDS, which are called upon to play an increasing role in developing the statewide systems for free public education, health care, and social welfare and in improving working people's leisure conditions, to alleviate the differences in the material situation of individual citizens, families, and social groups which are objectively inevitable under socialism, to equalize socioeconomic and cultural conditions for raising children, and to promote the elimination of the lack of affluence [malooobespechennost] of individual groups of the population.

A task of priority importance is to FULLY SATISFY THE POPULATION'S GROWING DEMAND FOR HIGH-QUALITY AND DIVERSE CONSUMER GOODS--food products, good-quality and attractive clothing and footwear, furniture, cultural items, and complex household equipment and domestic appliances.

TRADE AND PUBLIC CATERING will be further developed. Their material and technical base will be strengthened and the standard of service will rise. The consumer cooperative system, which is called upon to improve trade in the countryside and organize the purchase from the population and marketing of agricultural products, will also be further developed. The kolkhoz market will retain its significance. A retail price policy will be pursued in the interests of increasing the population's real incomes.

It is planned to implement major measures to create a MODERN HIGHLY DEVELOPED SERVICES SPHERE. An increase in the volume, expansion of the range, and improvement in the quality of services will make it possible to satisfy more fully the population's growing requirements for diverse forms of housing, municipal, transport, consumer, social, and cultural services, alleviate housework, and create better conditions for relaxation, the meaningful use of free time. There will be accelerated development of the services sphere in rural localities and newly opened-up areas.

Accelerating the solution of the housing problem so that practically every Soviet family has separate housing--an apartment or individual house--by the year 2000 is regarded by the party as a matter of particular social significance. The large scale of housing construction out of state funds, the broader development of cooperative and individual construction, and also the modernization, updating, and improvement of the condition of the housing stock and the intensification of monitoring of its distribution are called upon to promote this. Particular attention will be devoted to the quality of housing construction, the improvement of comfort levels, the improvement of layout, and the improvement of provision of equipment in apartments and houses.

Higher demands will be made of the architecture, aesthetic appearance, and amenity level of urban and rural settlements. Population centers must constitute rationally organized complexes of production zones, residential areas, and a network of social, cultural, and educational establishments, trade and consumer service enterprises, sports facilities, and public transportation ensuring the best conditions for people's labor, everyday life, and leisure. The practice of enlisting funds from the population to improve housing, cultural, and everyday life conditions, leisure, and tourism and for other purposes will be expanded.

The IMPROVEMENT OF SOVIET PEOPLE'S HEALTH and the lengthening of their active life is a matter of priority importance. The party sets the task of ubiquitously and fully satisfying urban and rural inhabitants' requirements for all types of highly skilled medical services and radically improving their quality. To this end it is planned to introduce a system of universal medical checkups for the population; further develop the network of mother and child health protection institutions, health centers, hospitals, and sanatoriums and equip them with modern medical apparatus and equipment; and ensure full provision of medical, treatment, and sanitary and hygiene resources.

The significance of PHYSICAL CULTURE AND SPORT AND THEIR INTRODUCTION INTO DAILY LIFE in improving the population's health, harmoniously developing the individual, and preparing young people for labor and the defense of the motherland is increasing. Matters must be organized in such a way that from his youth every person is concerned to improve himself physically, has a knowledge of the field of hygiene and medical assistance, and leads a healthy way of life.

The CPSU attaches tremendous state significance to INTENSIFYING CONCERN FOR THE FAMILY. It plays an important role in improving the health of and educating the rising generations, ensuring society's economic and social progress, and improving demographic processes. It is here that the fundamentals of a person's character and his attitude to labor and to moral, ideological, and cultural values are shaped. Society has a vital interest in a solid and spiritually and morally healthy family. Proceeding from this, the party considers it essential to pursue a line aimed at strengthening the family and assisting it in fulfilling its social functions and rearing children and at improving the material, housing, and everyday living conditions of families with children and young married couples. It is necessary to deepen the interaction of family, school, and labor collective and to increase parents' responsibility for educating children and also children's responsibility for their parents' welfare and for their secure and tranquil old age.

THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF THE POSITION OF MOTHERS is a subject of the party's constant concern. To this end favorable conditions will be created for combining motherhood with active participation by women in labor and social activity. Particular attention will be devoted to mother and child protection, and the length of antenatal leave and child-care leave will be increased. The network of sanatoriums, rest homes, and boardinghouses for family vacations will be expanded. Diverse forms of labor employment for women will be developed, and flexible working schedules, incomplete work days, and home-based labor will be applied on a broader scale in accordance with their wishes.

A broad package of measures will be implemented to create the necessary conditions for rearing the rising generation. In the very near future the population's requirements for children's establishments will already be fully satisfied. The network of Young Pioneer, labor, and sports camps, Young Pioneer centers, and scientific, technical, and artistic creativity centers and stations will be expanded. Catering expenditure norms will be raised in preschool establishments and vocational and technical educational establishments and children's homes.

The party considers it necessary to considerably INTENSIFY THE ATTENTION DEVOTED TO YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIAL PROBLEMS and, first and foremost, to the development and fuller satisfaction of the socially significant interests and requirements of young men and women in the sphere of labor and everyday life, education and culture, professional and vocational growth, and the rational use of free time.

The CPSU will continue to display constant CONCERN TO IMPROVE THE MATERIAL SITUATION OF LABOR AND WAR VETERANS, elderly [preklonnogo vozrasta] people, invalids, and the families of deceased servicemen and to provide social, medical, and cultural services for them. Pensions, primarily minimum and previously designated pensions, will be raised periodically. Pension provision for kolkhoz members will gradually move closer to the level established for workers and employees. The network of residential homes for elderly and disabled people will be developed, and maintenance conditions in them will be improved. The broadening of opportunities for labor veterans with great experience to participate as far as they are able in labor activity and in public life and education work is a matter of great socioeconomic importance.

The harmonious interaction of society and nature, man and the environment, is assuming increasing significance in the improvement of the people's life. Socialist society, which builds its future in a conscious manner, engages in plan-governed and solicitous use of nature and occupies vanguard positions in mankind's struggle to preserve and augment the planet's natural resources. The party considers it necessary to intensify the monitoring of the use of nature and to develop ecological education of the population on a broader scale.

Overcoming Class Differences, Forming a Socially Homogeneous Society

An important natural law of the development of social relations at the present stage is THE RAPPROCHEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS, KOLKHOZ PEASANTRY, AND INTELLIGENTISIA AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CLASSLESS STRUCTURE FOR SOCIETY WITH THE DECISIVE ROLE IN THIS PROCESS BELONGING TO THE WORKING CLASS.

The political experience of the working class, its high degree of awareness and organization, and its will cement our entire society. The improvement of the general educational, cultural, and professional standard of the working class and the growth of its labor and sociopolitical activeness enhance its vanguard role in the improvement of socialism and in communist building.

During the consistent implementation of the party's agrarian policy, agricultural labor is transformed into a form of industrial labor and the substantial social and cultural and daily living differences between the city and the countryside are erased; the way of life and nature of the labor of the peasantry are becoming increasingly similar to the way of life and nature of the labor of the working class. The overcoming of differences between these classes and the assertion of a society without classes in our country will take place mainly within the historical framework of the first socialist phase of the communist formation.

The revolutionary transformations in productive forces are leading to an increase in the proportion of mental labor in the activity of the broadest masses of workers and kolkhoz members. At the same time the numerical strength of the intelligentsia is increasing and their creative contribution to material production and other spheres of social life is growing. All this is helping to gradually erase the substantial differences between physical and mental labor and to bring all social groups closer. The complete overcoming

of these differences and the formation of a socially homogeneous society will be completed at the highest phase of communism.

At the same time, as long as these differences exist, the party considers it a matter of paramount importance to take careful account in its policy of the special features of the interests of classes and social groups. Great attention will be paid to equalizing the working and daily living conditions of the population of different regions of the country.

In the social structure of Soviet society THERE IS AN INCREASE IN THE ROLE OF THE LABOR COLLECTIVES. The party helps to ensure by every means that every labor collective becomes an effective social cell of socialist people's self-management, the working people's daily and real participation in the solution of questions of the work of their enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and the development and augmentation of the individual's creative forces. It considers it essential purposefully to intensify the labor collectives' influence on all spheres of the life of society, to expand their rights, and at the same time to raise their responsibility for the solution of specific tasks of economic, social, and cultural development.

Further Flowering and Rapprochement of the Socialist Nations and Ethnic Groups

In its activity the CPSU comprehensively considers Soviet society's multinational composition. The results of the path which has been traveled convincingly attest that the NATIONALITIES QUESTION INHERITED FROM THE PAST HAS BEEN SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVED IN THE SOVIET UNION. National relations in our country are characterized by the further flowering of nations and ethnic groups and their steady rapprochement, which is taking place on the basis of voluntariness, equality, and fraternal cooperation. Any artificial pushing and any curbing of ripe objective trends of development is inadmissible here. This development entails, in the remote historical future, the complete unity of nations.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that in our multinational socialist state, in the process of the joint labor and life of over 100 nations and ethnic groups, NEW TASKS IN IMPROVING NATIONAL RELATIONS NATURALLY ARISE. The party has resolved and will continue to resolve them on the basis of the tested principles of Lenin's nationalities policy. It set the following basic tasks in this field:

--the all-around strengthening [uprocheniye] and development of the unified, union, multinational state. The CPSU will continue to struggle consistently against any manifestations of parochialism and national narrowness, and at the same time display constant concern for the further enhancement of the role of the republics' autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs in resolving nationwide tasks and for the active participation of working people of all nationalities in the work of the organs of power and management. The forms of inter-nation [mezhnatsionalnyye] relations will be enriched on the basis of the creative application of Lenin's principles of socialist federalism and democratic centralism in the interests of the entire Soviet people and of each nation and ethnic group;

--the buildup of the material and spiritual potential of each republic within the framework of a unified national economic complex. The combination of the initiative of union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs with centralized management on an all-union scale will make it possible to make more rational use of the resources of the country and local natural and other features. It is essential consistently to intensify the division of labor between republics, to equalize their conditions of economic management, to encourage republics' active participation in the economic development of new regions, to develop the interrepublican exchange of worker and specialist cadres, and to expand and improve the training of skilled workers from among the citizens of all nations and ethnic groups living in the republics;

--the development of the Soviet people's single culture, socialist in content, diverse in its national forms, and internationalist in spirit, on the basis of the best achievements and unique progressive traditions of the USSR peoples. The growth and rapprochement of national cultures and the consolidation of their mutual links make their mutual enrichment even more fruitful and open up before Soviet people the broadest opportunities for access to everything of value generated by the talent of each of our country's peoples.

The free development of their native languages and their use on an equal basis by all citizens of the USSR will continue to be ensured. At the same time [v to zhe vremya] the mastering, alongside the language of their nationality, of the Russian language, which has been voluntarily adopted by Soviet people as the means of inter-nation communication, expands their access to the achievements of science, technology, and our own and world culture.

The party proceeds from the premise that the consistent pursuit of Lenin's nationalities policy and the all-around consolidation of the friendship of the peoples are a component of the improvement of socialism and a path, tested by social practice, toward the further flowering of our multinational socialist motherland.

IV. The Development of Soviet Society's Political System

The dictatorship of the proletariat established as a result of the socialist revolution played a decisive role in the creation of the new society. During this process it itself underwent changes. With the elimination of the exploiter classes the function of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown exploiters gradually disappeared and the implementation of its main, creative tasks developed with full force. Having fulfilled its historical mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat developed into the political power of all the working people, and the proletarian state developed into a state of the whole people. This is the main instrument for the improvement of socialism in our country, and in the international arena implements [osushchestvlyayet] the functions of defending socialist gains, consolidating world socialism's positions, opposing the aggressive policy of imperialist forces, and developing peaceful cooperation with all peoples.

THE CPSU BELIEVES THAT AT THE PRESENT STAGE THE STRATEGIC LINE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY'S POLITICAL SYSTEM LIES IN IMPROVING SOVIET DEMOCRACY

AND INCREASINGLY FULLY IMPLEMENTING SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S SELF-MANAGEMENT VIA THE ACTIVE AND EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION OF WORKING PEOPLE, THEIR COLLECTIVES, AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS IN RESOLVING QUESTIONS OF STATE AND SOCIAL LIFE.

The leading force in this process is the party--the nucleus of Soviet society's political system. All other components of this system--the Soviet state, the trade unions, the Komsomol, and the cooperative and other social organizations reflecting the unity and distinctive identity of the interests of all strata of the population and all the country's nations and nationalities--function under its leadership. Operating within the framework of the constitution, the CPSU directs and coordinates the work of state and social organizations and is concerned to ensure that each of them fully performs its distinctive functions. By all its activity the party sets an example of service of the people's interests and observance of the principles of socialist democratism.

The party is concerned to ensure that the principles of socialist people's self-management are consistently implemented in the management of society and the state, that is, to ensure that management not only is implemented in the working people's interests but also in a law-governed fashion, to an ever greater degree, becomes the direct concern of the working people themselves, who, in V.I. Lenin's words, are conscious of no power over themselves except the power of their own association.

The party will continue to contribute to ensuring that citizens' socioeconomic, political, and personal rights and freedoms are expanded and enriched and that increasingly favorable conditions for and guarantees of their full implementation are created. Soviet people possess every opportunity to express and implement their civil will and interests and enjoy all the benefits that socialism gives them. Soviet citizens' realization of their rights and freedoms is inseparable from their execution of their constitutional duties. There are no rights without duties and no duties without rights--that is the immutable political principle of socialist society. The CPSU will continue to seek persistently to ensure that every Soviet person is educated in the spirit of a clear understanding of the unity of his rights, freedoms, and duties.

The key question of the party's policy is THE DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF THE SOVIET SOCIALIST STATE and the increasingly full revelation of its democratic, all-people's character, and of its creative, constructive role.

The CPSU shows constant concern for improving the activity of the soviets of people's deputies--the political foundation of the USSR and the main component in socialist people's self-management. The party attaches great importance to improving forms of popular representation and to the development of the democratic principles of the Soviet electoral system and to ensuring the free and comprehensive discussion of candidate deputies' personal and professional qualities so that the worthiest and most authoritative representatives of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, people's intelligentsia, and all nations and ethnic groups of the country are elected to the soviets. In order to improve the work of the soviets and produce an influx of new forces into them and in order to ensure that further millions of working people pass through the

school of state management, the composition of soviet deputies will be systematically renewed in elections.

The CPSU constantly contributes to ensuring that the USSR Supreme Soviet and the republic supreme soviets consistently improve legislation and efficiently resolve key problems of domestic and foreign policy within their competence, actively lead the soviets of people's deputies, and check the work of the organs accountable to them. The role of local soviets in ensuring the comprehensive economic and social development of regions, in independently resolving tasks of local importance, and in coordinating and monitoring the activity of the organizations located on their territory will continue to increase.

It is necessary to create all the conditions for ensuring that Lenin's directions regarding the soviets as organs that not only make decisions but also organize their carrying into effect and the verification of execution are rigorously observed. Democratic principles of work must be increasingly fully implemented in the activity of soviets of all levels: the collective, free, and businesslike discussion and resolution of questions; publicity; criticism and self-criticism; regular reporting and the responsibility of deputies, up to and including the recall of those who have not vindicated voters' trust; monitoring of the work of executive and other organs; the widespread involvement of citizens in participation in management.

The party will unswervingly pursue the line of DEMOCRATIZING MANAGEMENT AND THE PROCESS OF FORMULATING AND ADOPTING STATE DECISIONS, a line which ensures that the optimum versions of them are chosen and that the various opinions and proposals of the working people are taken into account and collated. The range of questions on which decisions can be made only after discussion in labor collectives, in soviet standing commissions, and in trade union, Komsomol, and other social organizations will be expanded. The most important bills and decisions will be referred for nationwide discussion and voting. The system for the generalization and implementation of voters' instructions and citizens' statements and proposals and for the study of public opinion must be further improved and the population's level of information regarding decisions and the results of their implementation must be increased.

The expansion of the rights and development of the activeness of labor collectives in all questions of the management of production, social, and cultural building and in the political life of society acquires special significance. The role of general meetings and councils of labor collectives and the responsibility of the administration for the implementation of their decisions will increase, and a switch will be made to electing foremen, sector chiefs, and leaders of other production subunits.

A matter of great importance is improving the work of the state apparatus and all management organs. The Soviet apparatus serves the people and is accountable to the people. It must be well qualified and efficient. It is necessary to seek to simplify and reduce the cost of the management apparatus and to eliminate overstaffing, persistently eradicate displays of bureaucratism and formalism, departmentalism, and parochialism, and get rid of incompetent and unenterprising personnel without delay. Unscrupulousness, the

abuse of official position, careerism, the desire for personal enrichment, nepotism, and protectionism must be resolutely suppressed and punished.

The party believes that it is necessary to rigorously observe the principle of the accountability of the personnel of state organs and to expand the electivity and competitive system of filling posts. Collegiality must be persistently implemented in work, along with the personal responsibility of each leader, and personnel must be objectively assessed on the basis of their practical actions, and the actual fulfillment of decisions adopted must be efficiently monitored.

The CPSU will actively help to increase the effectiveness of state and public control. It regards working people's work in PEOPLE'S CONTROL organs as an important way of developing their political maturity and activeness in defending the people's interests and of instilling a state approach toward matters and a thrifty attitude toward the people's property.

THE STRENGTHENING OF THE LEGAL BASIS OF STATE AND SOCIAL LIFE, the unswerving observance of socialist legality and law and order, and the improvement of the work of judicial organs, organs of supervision by the prosecutor's office, and justice and internal affairs organs have been and remain a matter of constant concern for the party. Relying on the support of labor collectives, public organizations, and all the working people, state organs must do everything necessary to ensure the safekeeping of socialist property and the protection of citizens' personal property, honor, and dignity, conduct a resolute struggle against crime, drunkenness, and alcoholism, prevent any offenses, and eliminate the reasons giving rise to them.

THE CPSU REGARDS THE DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST HOMELAND, THE STRENGTHENING OF THE COUNTRY'S DEFENSE, AND THE SAFEGUARDING OF STATE SECURITY AS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS OF THE SOVIET STATE.

From the viewpoint of internal conditions, our society does not need an army. However, as long as the danger that imperialism will unleash aggressive wars and military conflicts exists, the party will pay unremitting attention to reinforcing the USSR's defense might and strengthening its security and the readiness of the Armed Forces to rout any aggressor. The Armed Forces and state security organs must display great vigilance and be always ready to suppress imperialism's intrigues against the USSR and its allies.

The ultimate foundation of the strengthening of the defense of the socialist motherland is the Communist Party's leadership of military building and the Armed Forces. Policy in the sphere of defense and the country's security and Soviet military doctrine, which is purely defensive in nature and is directed toward defense against external attack, are formulated and implemented with the party playing a leading role. The CPSU will make every effort to ensure that the USSR Armed Forces are at a level excluding strategic superiority on the part of imperialism's forces, that the Soviet state's defense capability is comprehensively improved, and that the combat collaboration of the fraternal socialist countries' armies is strengthened.

The party will continue to show invariable concern for ensuring that the Soviet Armed Forces' combat potential constitutes a strong fusion of military skill, a high level of technical equipment, ideological staunchness, organization and discipline on the part of personnel, their loyalty to their patriotic and international duty.

The CPSU deems it necessary to continue to strengthen its organizing and directing influence on the life and activity of the Armed Forces, to strengthen one-man command, to enhance the role and influence of Soviet Army and Navy political organs and party organizations, and to seek to ensure that the intimate [krovnyy] link between the Army and the people becomes still stronger. Every Communist and every Soviet person must do all in his power to maintain the country's defense capability at the due level. THE DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST HOMELAND AND SERVICE IN THE RANKS OF THE ARMED FORCES ARE THE USSR CITIZEN'S HONORABLE OBLIGATION AND SACRED DUTY.

The party attaches prime importance to enhancing the role of social organizations--important components in the system of socialist people's self-management.

The CPSU sets it as its task to promote the constant growth of the prestige and influence of TRADE UNIONS--the most mass working people's organization, a school of management, a school of economic management, and a school of communism. The trade unions are called upon to consistently fulfill their main functions: contributing in every possible way to augmenting the people's wealth and to improving people's working, daily living, and leisure conditions; defending working people's rights and interests; constantly engaging in the communist education of the masses; involving them in the management of production and social affairs; and strengthening conscious labor discipline.

The task of trade union organizations is to take a still more active part in developing socialist people's self-management and in resolving fundamental questions of state, economic, and cultural building, cooperate more closely with the soviets and other working people's organizations, raise the standard of socialist competition and of the propaganda and introduction of advanced experience, develop public forms of monitoring the observance of the principles of social justice, and help implement the powers of labor collectives.

The CPSU rightly regards THE ALL-UNION LENIN KOMSOMOL--a sociopolitical organization with many millions of members which unites the progressive section of Soviet youth--as its active assistant and reliable reserve. The party will continue to increase the Komsomol's role in educating the rising generation, improving the work of the Pioneer organization, and in practically resolving the tasks of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. In implementing leadership of the Komsomol, the CPSU pays particular attention to the organizational and political strengthening of its ranks and of the independent [samodeyatelnyy] nature of the youth league. The Komsomol must persistently develop the labor and social activeness of young men and women and mold in them a Marxist-Lenist world outlook, political and moral

standards, and an awareness of their historic responsibility for the fate of socialism and peace.

The party promotes the improvement of the activity of COOPERATIVES--kolkhozes and consumer cooperatives, housebuilding cooperatives, and cooperative organizations and associations--regarding them as an important form of socialist self-management and an effective means of developing the national economy.

The CPSU will help to further boost the activeness of CREATIVE UNIONS, SCIENTIFIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL, CULTURAL ENLIGHTENMENT, SPORTS, DEFENSE, AND OTHER VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES, AND ORGANS OF THE POPULATION'S SOCIAL AMATEUR ACTIVITY. In performing their functions, these organizations are called upon to make an increasingly great contribution to implementing the party's policy and to show concern for comprehensively expressing and implementing the interests of the working people they unite and for strengthening Soviet people's civic initiative and responsibility.

V. Ideological Education Work, Education, Science, and Culture

The party will do everything necessary in order to make full use of the transforming power of Marxist-Leninist ideology for the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the country and to perform purposeful work on the ideological-political, labor, and moral education of Soviet people and ON SHAPING A HARMONIOUSLY DEVELOPED, SOCIALLY ACTIVE PERSONALITY COMBINING WITHIN ITSELF SPIRITUAL RICHNESS, MORAL PURITY, AND PHYSICAL PERFECTION. In ideological work the CPSU considers the chief element to be the nurturing of the working people in a spirit of high moral fiber and devotion to communism, Soviet patriotism and proletarian, socialist internationalism, a conscious attitude toward labor and public property, giving the masses increasingly full access to the treasures of spiritual culture, and the eradication of morals that are at variance with the socialist way of life.

The party proceeds from the premise that the education of man is inseparable from his practical participation in creative labor for the benefit of the people, in social life, and in the solution of tasks of socioeconomic and cultural building. Separation from reality and from its real problems dooms ideological education work to abstract pedantry [prosvetitelstvo] and vague waffle and leads away from the vital tasks of communist creation. Ideological activity must be marked by its close linking with social practice, profundity of ideological-theoretical content, full and accurate consideration of the realities of domestic and international life and of the increased spiritual needs of the working people, truthfulness, well-argued nature, and specificity.

Unity of word and deed--the most important principle of all party and state activity--is also an indispensable requirement as regards ideological education work. Active participation in it is an obligation for all leading cadres and the duty of every Communist.

The party puts forward the following tasks:

In the Sphere of Ideological Education Work

THE FORMATION OF A SCIENTIFIC WORLD OUTLOOK. Socialism has ensured the domination in the spiritual life of Soviet society of a scientific world outlook whose foundation is Marxism-Leninism as an integral and harmonious system of philosophical, economic, and sociopolitical views. The party considers its most important obligation to be the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of the study and generalization of new phenomena in the life of Soviet society, consideration of the experience of the other countries of the socialist community, and of the world communist, workers, national liberation and democratic movement, and analysis of the achievements of the natural, technical, and social sciences.

The CPSU will take constant pains to ensure that all Soviet people have a profound mastery of Marxist-Leninist teaching, enhance their political standards [kultura], and consciously participate in drawing up the party's policy and actively translate it into reality.

LABOR EDUCATION. The party places at the focus of educational work the shaping in each Soviet person of a profound respect and readiness for conscientious labor for the common good, be it mental or physical labor. Labor is the basic source of the material and spiritual wealth of society, the main criterion of a person's social prestige, his sacred obligation, and the foundation of the communist education of the individual. The party will continue to take pains over the enhancement of the prestige of honest, highly productive labor, over the development of initiative and creativity in work, and over the consolidation of the principles of a communist attitude toward labor.

THE FIRM ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNIST MORALITY. The creative potential of communist morality--the most humane, just, and noble morality based on loyalty to the goals of the revolutionary struggle and the ideals of communism--is revealed increasingly fully under the conditions of the gradual advance toward communism. Our morality has absorbed both universal human moral values and the norms of people's behavior and relationships generated by the peoples' masses in the many centuries of struggle against exploitation and for freedom and social equality, happiness and peace.

Communist morality, for whose assertion the CPSU is acting, is:

--A COLLECTIVIST MORALITY. "One for all and all for one"--that is its basic principle. It is incompatible with egotism, selfishness, and conceit and it harmoniously combines nationwide, collective, and personal interests;

--A HUMANITARIAN MORALITY. It ennobles the working man and is pervaded with profound respect for him and will not tolerate encroachments on his dignity. It asserts truly human relations between people--relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid, benevolence, honesty, simplicity, and modesty in personal and public life;

--AN ACTIVE, EFFECTIVE MORALITY. It prompts man to undertake new labor and creative achievements, to take an interested part in the life of the collective and of the entire country, to actively reject everything which contradicts the socialist way of life, and to struggle persistently for communist ideals.

PATRIOTIC AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION. The party will continue to work tirelessly to ensure that in Soviet man love for the motherland of October and for the land where he was born and grew up and pride in the historic achievements of the world's first socialist state are combined with proletarian, socialist internationalism and with a sense of class solidarity with the working people of the fraternal countries and with all those who are struggling against imperialism and for social progress and peace.

The party and our state have an interest in ensuring that the feelings of friendship and fraternity which unite all nations and nationalities of the USSR, a high standard of inter-nation communication, and intolerance toward manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, national narrowness and national egotism, and customs and morals which impede the communist renewal of life are inherent in every Soviet person.

An important task of the party's ideological education work remains military-patriotic education, the formation of readiness to defend the socialist fatherland and to give it all one's efforts and if necessary one's life too.

LEGAL EDUCATION. The party attaches great significance to nurturing the high civic sense of the individual, respect for Soviet laws and the rules of socialist communal life, irreconcilability toward any violations of socialist legality, and readiness to participate actively in the protection of law and order.

ATHEIST EDUCATION. The party uses means of ideological influence for the broad dissemination of a scientific-materialist world outlook and for overcoming religious prejudices without permitting the feelings of believers to be offended. While advocating the unconditional observance of constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience, the party denounces attempts to use religion to the detriment of the interests of society and the individual. A most important component of atheist education is people's enhanced labor and public activeness, their enlightenment, and widespread dissemination of new Soviet rituals and customs.

Work on communist education is inseparable from THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MANIFESTATIONS OF ALIEN IDEOLOGY AND MORALITY AND ALL NEGATIVE PHENOMENA connected with vestiges of the past in people's awareness and behavior, with shortcomings in practical work in various spheres of public life, and with delay in resolving urgent problems. The party attaches paramount importance to the consistent and persistent eradication of violations of labor discipline, embezzlement and bribery, speculation and parasitism, drunkenness and hooliganism, a private ownership mentality and money-grubbing, toadying, and servility. It is essential to make full use of the authority of public opinion and the force of the law for the struggle against these phenomena.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY. The very acute struggle between the two world outlooks in the international arena reflects the opposition between the two world systems--socialism and capitalism. The CPSU sees its task as being to bring the peoples the truth about real socialism and the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy, actively propagandize the Soviet way of life, and reveal in a thrusting, well-reasoned way the antipopular, inhuman nature of imperialism and its exploiting essence. It will form in Soviet people high political awareness, vigilance, and the ability to assess social phenomena from clear-cut, class-based positions and to defend the ideals and spiritual values of socialism.

The role of THE MASS INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA MEDIA is being enhanced in the life of society. The CPSU will seek to ensure that they analyze in depth tendencies and phenomena of domestic and international life and economic and social processes, actively support everything new and progressive, raise the topical problems which perturb people, and propose ways of resolving them. The work of the press, television, and radio broadcasting must be marked by political clarity and purposefulness, depth of content, promptness, fully informed nature, vividness, and comprehensibility of items. The party will continue to render active support and assistance to the press and all mass information and propaganda media.

Special attention will be paid to the development of television, the all-around expansion of radio and television program coverage for the population, and the improvement of the content, ideological and artistic standard, and appeal of programs.

In ideological education and propaganda work it is essential resolutely to eradicate manifestations of empty verbosity, ostentation, and formalism. All its forms and means must help to mobilize the masses for the fulfillment of the tasks facing the country, ensuring the broad publicity of the work of party and state organs and public organizations, the directness and frankness of communication with people, the correct formation of public opinion, and the growth of its impact on practical deeds. The CPSU will be constantly concerned for the consolidation of ideological work's material base.

In the Sphere of Public Education

The party consistently pursues a line of educating and training conscious, highly educated people capable of both physical and mental labor and energetic activity in the national economy, in various spheres of public and state life, and in the sphere of science and culture. The education system created in the USSR, which is truly of the people, has ensured that all citizens have access to knowledge and made it possible in a historically short period of time to eliminate mass illiteracy and go over to universal secondary education.

THE CPSU WILL CONTINUE TO IMPROVE THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE ACCELERATION OF SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE PROSPECTS OF COMMUNIST BUILDING, AND THE DEMANDS MADE BY PROGRESS IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. The reform of general and vocational educational schools which is being implemented in the country is based on the creative development of the Leninist principle of an integrated polytechnical labor education

system and is aimed at raising still higher the standard of young people's education and upbringing, improving their preparation for an independent working life, and effecting a gradual transition to universal vocational education. The education system is called upon to inculcate in students a sense of love for the motherland, collectivism, and respect for their elders, parents, and teachers, to educate the rising generation in a spirit of high responsibility for the quality of study and labor and for their own behavior, and to develop student self-management [uchenicheskoye samoupravleniye]. In the course of implementation of the measures planned, the further development and rapprochement and, in the long term, the merging of vocational and general education will take place.

In accordance with the requirements of scientific, technical, and social progress, the system of secondary specialized and higher education will be further developed. It should react sensitively and promptly to the needs of production, science, and culture and supply the national economy's requirements for specialists who combine a high level of vocational training, ideological and political maturity, and the habits of organizational and management activity. The party attaches great significance to the development of the system of improving skills, which alongside correspondence and evening teaching will create favorable opportunities for all working people to continue their education and constantly widen and renew their knowledge, and for the constant growth of their overall culture and professional standard.

The party will display tireless concern for pedagogical cadres and for strengthening and developing the material base of the entire education system.

In the Sphere of Science

Science plays an ever-increasing role in the development of productive forces and the improvement of social relations, the creation of fundamentally new types of technology and techniques, the improvement of labor productivity, the exploitation of the resources of the earth, the oceans, and space, and the conservation and improvement of the environment.

THE PARTY'S POLICY IN THE SPHERE OF SCIENCE IS AIMED AT CREATING FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR DYNAMIC PROGRESS IN ALL SECTORS OF KNOWLEDGE AND AT CONCENTRATING CADRES AND MATERIAL AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES IN THE MOST PROMISING AVENUES INTENDED TO ACCELERATE THE ATTAINMENT OF THE PLANNED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL GOALS AND SOCIETY'S SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT AND TO ENSURE THE COUNTRY'S RELIABLE DEFENSE CAPABILITY.

The dialectical materialist methodology was and is a principled, tried and tested basis for natural science and social knowledge. It must continue to be developed creatively and applied skillfully in research work and social practice.

Soviet science is called upon to hold leading positions in the basic avenues of scientific and technical progress and to find effective, timely solutions for long-term and current production and socioeconomic problems. It is important to ensure the preferential development of basic and fundamental research and to seek the speediest implementation of scientific ideas in the

national economy and other spheres of human activity. Organizational and economic forms of integration of science and production and management of scientific and technical progress should be constantly improved, topical applied research and experimental and design studies should be extended, and their effectiveness in terms of results should be increased. Collaboration among academic, VUZ, and sector science must be consistently strengthened.

The attention of social scientists should be concentrated on the study and all-around analysis of the experience of world development, the creation of the new society in the USSR and the other socialist countries, the dialectics of productive forces and production relations, the material and spiritual spheres in the conditions of socialism, the laws governing the development of the communist formation, and the ways and means of gradual progress toward its highest phase. The scientific analysis of the objective contradictions of the socialist society and the elaboration of well-substantiated recommendations for resolving them and reliable economic and social forecasts—that is the urgent task of the social sciences at the present stage of development.

The processes taking place in the communist, workers, and national liberation movements and in capitalist society need to be studied in depth. The course of world development raises many questions of a global scale for mankind. Scientific thought should give the correct answers to these questions. The struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, and dogmatism was and is an important task for social science.

The party supports the bold quest, the rivalry of ideas and avenues in science, fruitful debates. Both scholastic arguments and the practice of passively recording facts while shunning bold theoretical generalizations, jumping on bandwagons [konyunkturshchina], and dissociation from reality are contraindicated for science. The complex, interconnected nature of present-day problems requires a deepening of the integration of social, natural, and technical sciences. There should be wider development of those forms of organization of science which ensure the interdisciplinary study of topical problems, the necessary maneuverability of scientific cadres, the flexibility of the structure of scientific institutions, and the efficacy of research and development. It is necessary to increase their role in the formation and implementation of economic and social development plans. An essential condition for science's progress is the constant influx of fresh forces, including forces from the production sphere, the skillful utilization of scientists' creative potential, and the provision of incentives for their labor depending on their real contribution to the study of theoretical and applied problems.

In the Sphere of Cultural Building, Literature, and Art

The creation of a multinational Soviet culture which is truly of the people and has won international recognition is a historic achievement for our system. The source of that culture's mighty influence lies in fidelity to the truth of life and to the idealism and communism, humanism and optimism, and close links with the people.

THE CPSU ATTACHES GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO THE FULLER, MORE PROFOUND ASSIMILATION BY THE WORKING PEOPLE'S MASSES OF THE RICHES OF SPIRITUAL AND MATERIAL CULTURE AND ACTIVE ACCESS TO ARTISTIC CREATIVITY FOR THEM. Guided consistently by the Leninist principles of cultural building, the party will display concern for the aesthetic education of the working people and rising generations in the best examples of our country's and the world's artistic culture. The aesthetic principle will still further animate labor, elevate man, and embellish his life.

The sphere of culture is called upon to satisfy the growing needs of various categories of the population, ensure the necessary conditions for amateur artistic creativity by the people, develop abilities, enrich the socialist way of life, and mold sound requirements and high aesthetic tastes. In the party's view, an essential condition of the successful resolution of these tasks is the constant improvement of the content and methods of cultural enlightenment work and the strengthening of its material base and intensive cultural building in the countryside and in regions being newly opened up.

THE PARTY WILL HELP IN EVERY WAY TO INCREASE THE ROLE OF LITERATURE AND ART. They are called upon to serve the people's interests and the cause of communism as a source of joy and inspiration for millions of people, to express their will, feelings, and thoughts, and to actively help their ideological enrichment and moral education.

The main line in the development of literature and art is the strengthening of ties with the people's life, the truthful representation, to a high artistic standard, of socialist reality, the inspired, vivid revelation of what is new and advanced, and the impassioned unmasking of all that hinders society's forward movement.

The art of socialist realism is founded on the principles of popular spirit and partymindedness. It combines bold innovation in the truthful artistic reproduction of life with the utilization and development of all the progressive traditions of the culture of our country and the world. Personalities in literature and art have broad scope for really free creativity, for improving their skill, and for further developing diverse realistic forms, styles, and genres. As the people's cultural level rises, the influence of art on society's life and its moral and psychological climate is stepped up. This increases the responsibility of the masters of culture for the ideological thrust of creative work and the artistic force of their works' influence.

The CPSU has a solicitous, respectful attitude toward talent and the artistic quest. At the same time it has always struggled and will continue to struggle, with the help of creative unions, public opinion, and Marxist-Leninist artistic criticism, against manifestations of lack of ideological content, philosophical eclecticism, and aesthetic aridity.

Soviet culture promotes mutual understanding and rapprochement between peoples and participates actively in the struggle against imperialism, reaction, and war. Studying the ideological wealth and diversity of the socialist society's spiritual life and its real humanism, it enriches world culture and

reveals itself increasingly fully as a mighty factor for mankind's spiritual progress and a prototype for the future culture of communism.

Part Three. The CPSU's Tasks in the International Arena and in the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress

The CPSU's international policy stems from the humane nature of the socialist society, which is free from exploitation and oppression and has no classes or social groups with an interest in unleashing wars. It is indissolubly linked with the party's vital, strategic tasks inside the country and expresses the Soviet people's one desire--to engage in creative labor and live in peace with all peoples.

THE MAIN AIMS AND AVENUES OF THE CPSU'S INTERNATIONAL POLICY:

--to ensure favorable external conditions for the improvement of the socialist society and for the advance toward communism in the USSR; to eliminate the threat of world war and achieve universal security and disarmament;

--to steadily extend and deepen the USSR's cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and promote in every way the strengthening and progress of the world system of socialism;

--to develop equal, friendly relations with the countries which have gained liberation;

--to maintain and develop the USSR's relations with capitalist states on the basis of peaceful coexistence and businesslike, mutually advantageous cooperation;

--international solidarity with communist and revolutionary democratic parties, the international workers' movement, and the peoples' national liberation struggle.

The CPSU's approach to foreign policy problems combines the firm defense of the Soviet people's interests and resolute opposition to imperialism's aggressive policy with readiness for dialogue and the constructive resolution of international questions by means of talks. The peace-loving foreign policy course which has been elaborated by the party and is consistently implemented by the Soviet state, combined with the strengthening of the country's defense capability, has secured for the Soviet people and for most of the planet's population the longest period of peaceful life in the 20th century. The CPSU will continue to do everything in its power to preserve peaceful conditions for Soviet people's creative labor, to improve international relations, to end the arms race which has swept through the world, and to avert the threat of nuclear war which hangs over the peoples.

To defend and consolidate peace, to curb the forces of aggression and militarism for the sake of the life of the present and future generations--there is no higher, more responsible mission. A WORLD WITHOUT WARS, WITHOUT WEAPONS--THAT IS THE IDEAL OF SOCIALISM.

I. Cooperation With the Socialist Countries

The CPSU attaches priority significance to the further development and strengthening of friendly ties between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

THE PARTY SEEKS LASTING, COMRADELY RELATIONS AND MULTIFACETED COOPERATION BETWEEN THE USSR AND ALL THE STATES OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM. The CPSU proceeds on the basis that the socialist countries' cohesion accords with the interests of each one of them and with their common interests and serves the cause of peace and the triumph of socialist ideals.

It is a subject of special concern to the party to strengthen the friendship in every way and to develop and improve the ties between the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries.

The motive force in their all-around cooperation is the ruling communist and workers parties. With a view to strengthening the cohesion of the communists in the fraternal countries and mutually enriching the practice of leadership of society, the CPSU will continue to promote the widening of interparty ties embracing all levels of the parties--from central committees to primary party organizations; and to promote the exchange of opinions and experience on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis.

The CPSU will continue the line of strengthening interstate relations between the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and enshrining them in treaty form, developing contacts between legislative organs and public organizations, and further activating all forms of political cooperation.

Soviet communists advocate increasingly effective collaboration among the fraternal countries in the international arena, taking account of the situation and interests of each of them and the common interests of the community.

In conditions where the NATO imperialist military bloc exists, the party deems it necessary to promote in every way the improvement of the activity of the Warsaw Pact Organization as an instrument of collective defense against imperialism's aggressive aspirations and the joint struggle for lasting peace and the widening of international cooperation.

In the sphere of economic mutual relations, the CPSU advocates the further deepening of socialist economic integration as the material basis for rallying the socialist countries. It attaches particular significance to consistently pooling the fraternal countries' efforts in the key avenues of intensification of production and acceleration of scientific and technical progress and for the joint resolution of a task of historic significance--that of attaining leading positions in science and technology with a view to the further growth of their peoples' prosperity and the strengthening of their security.

The party proceeds on the basis that integration is called upon to promote to an increasing extent the progress of social production and the socialist way of life in the community countries, the acceleration of the process of

equalization of their levels of economic development, and the strengthening of socialism's positions in the world.

The CPSU will participate actively in the fraternal parties' joint work to coordinate economic policy, improve the machinery of economic collaboration, seek new forms of such collaboration, deepen specialization and production sharing, coordinate plans, exchange leading experience, and establish direct ties between associations and enterprises. It will promote the enhancement of CEMA's role and the expansion of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation on the basis of bilateral and multilateral programs.

While regarding equal and mutually advantageous economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist states as natural and useful, at the same time the CPSU believes that the development of socialist integration should strengthen the community's technical and economic invulnerability to hostile acts by imperialism and to the influence of economic crises and other negative processes inherent in capitalism.

In the sphere of ideology the CPSU advocates the pooling of the fraternal parties' efforts aimed at the study and utilization of the experience of socialist building and the communist education of working people and at developing Marxist-Leninist theory while deepening its creative nature and upholding its revolutionary essence. The activation of collective thought and the constant expansion of the exchange of spiritual assets and cooperation in the sphere of science and culture serve to further deepen the friendship among the socialist countries.

The party will continue to promote the strengthening of consciousness of the unity and commonality of the historic destinies of the fraternal peoples. Disseminating the truth about socialism, exposing imperialist policy and propaganda, rebuffing anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and struggling against dogmatic and revisionist views--these tasks are resolved more successfully when Communists act in a united front.

THE CPSU CONSIDERS IT ITS INTERNATIONAL DUTY TOGETHER WITH THE OTHER FRATERNAL PARTIES TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITY AND INCREASE THE MIGHT AND INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. The course of socialism's competition with capitalism and the future of world civilization depend to an enormous extent on the socialist community's stability, the successes of each country's creative activity, and the purposefulness and coordinated nature of their actions.

The experience of the development of the world socialist system attests that the socialist system creates every possibility both for society's confident progress and for harmonious mutual relations among countries. But neither one nor the other arrives spontaneously.

The levels of countries' economic and political development, their historic and cultural traditions and the conditions in which they find themselves are not identical. The socialist countries' social development is not always linear. Each major stage of this development puts forward complex new tasks whose resolution is linked with a struggle and quests and with overcoming contradictions and difficulties.

All this--the CPSU is convinced--requires the greatest attention, a well-intentioned comparison of viewpoints, and effective solidarity in order to ensure that grounds for disagreements capable of damaging common interests are not created. The coordination of actions on fundamental questions, comradely interest in each other's successes, the precise fulfillment of adopted pledges, and the profound understanding of both national and common, international interests in their organic interrelationship are of particular importance.

The formation and development of the new society is taking place in a situation of acute confrontation between the two world systems. In order to weaken socialism's positions and disrupt the reciprocal ties among the socialist states--and first and foremost the links with the Soviet Union--imperialism employs a whole system of differentiated political, economic, and ideological measures, tries to speculate on problems that arise, and resorts to the utilization of nationalist sentiments for subversive ends. The CPSU proceeds on the basis that under these conditions the socialist countries' firm unity and class solidarity is of particularly great importance.

The experience of the USSR and world socialism attests that the most important factors of its successful onward movement are the loyalty of ruling communist and workers parties to the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the creative application of that teaching, the parties' firm links with the broad masses of working people, the strengthening of their prestige and leading role in society, the strict observance of Leninist norms of party and state life, and the development of socialist people's power; sober consideration of the real situation and the timely and scientifically substantiated resolution of problems that arise; and the building [postroyeniye] of relations with the other fraternal countries on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism.

Whatever the particular features of each socialist country--its economic level, size, and historic and national traditions--they all have the same class interests. What unites and rallies the socialist countries is the main thing and is immeasurably greater than what may divide them.

The CPSU is convinced that, given full observance of equal rights and mutual respect for national interests, the socialist countries will travel the road of increasingly great mutual understanding and rapprochement. The party will promote this historically progressive process.

II. Strengthening Relations With the Liberated Countries

In defining policy toward former colonial and semicolonial countries, the CPSU proceeds on the basis that the entry of formerly enslaved peoples on the path of independence, the emergence of dozens of new states, and the raising of their relative weight in world politics and economics are one of the distinguishing features of the modern era.

The liberated peoples, as Lenin foresaw, are faced with playing a great role in the fate of all mankind. THE CPSU ADVOCATED THAT THESE PEOPLES' MOUNTING INFLUENCE INCREASINGLY PROMOTE THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

The party consistently pursues the line of expanding ties between the Soviet Union and the liberated countries and has profound sympathy for the aspirations of peoples that have experienced the heavy and demeaning yoke of colonial servitude. The Soviet Union builds its relations with these countries on the basis of strict respect for their independence and equal rights and supports their struggle against imperialism's neocolonialist policy, against vestiges of colonialism, and for peace and universal security.

The party attaches great importance to solidarity and political and economic cooperation with SOCIALIST-ORIENTED COUNTRIES. Mainly through their own efforts every people create the material and technical base needed for building [postroyeniye] the new society and strive to increase the masses' prosperity and culture. To the extent of its abilities the Soviet Union has given and will continue to give peoples traveling this route aid in their economic and cultural building, in training national cadres, in increasing defense capability, and in other spheres.

The CPSU is deepening relations with the liberated countries' REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. Particularly close cooperation has taken shape with those of them which are striving to build their activity on the basis of scientific socialism. The CPSU favors the development of ties with all national progressive parties occupying anti-imperialist and patriotic stances.

The practice of the USSR's relations with the liberated countries has shown that real grounds also exist for cooperation with young states which are traveling the capitalist road. There is the common interest in maintaining peace, strengthening international security, and ending the arms race. There is the sharpening contradiction between the peoples' interests and the imperialist policy of diktat and expansion. There is the young states' realization of the fact that political and economic ties with the Soviet Union promote the strengthening of their independence.

However the liberated countries differ and whatever paths they travel, their peoples are united by the desire to develop independently and resolve their own affairs without foreign interference. The Soviet Union is wholly in solidarity with them. For the CPSU it is indisputable that it is their sacred right to determine the destiny of the liberated countries and choose their social system.

The CPSU supports the just struggle of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism and the oppression of the multinational monopolies and advocates the assertion of the sovereign right to control one's own resources, the restructuring of international relations on an equal, democratic basis, the creation of a new international economic order, and deliverance from the debt shackles imposed by the imperialists.

The Soviet Union is on the side of states and peoples repelling the attacks of the aggressive forces of imperialism and defending their freedom,

independence, and national dignity. Solidarity with them in our time is also an important part of the overall struggle for peace and international security. The party deems it its international duty to support the struggle of peoples who are still under the yoke of racism and are victims of the apartheid system.

The CPSU understands the goals and activity of the Nonaligned Movement and advocates increasing its role in world politics. The USSR will continue to side with the nonaligned states in the struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism and for the surmounting by means of talks of any disputes and conflicts that arise and to oppose the involvement of these states in military-political groupings.

The CPSU favors equal participation by the liberated countries in international affairs and an increase in their contribution to the resolution of the most important problems of the day. Collaboration between these countries and the socialist states is of immense importance for consolidating the peoples' independence, improving international relations, and maintaining peace.

THE ALLIANCE OF THE FORCES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS AND NATIONAL LIBERATION IS THE GUARANTEE OF MANKIND'S BETTER FUTURE.

III. Relations With Capitalist Countries. The Struggle for Lasting Peace and Disarmament.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that the historical dispute between the two opposed social systems into which the modern world is divided can and must be resolved peacefully. Socialism proves its advantages not by force of arms but by the force of its example in all areas of social life--by the dynamic development of the economy, science, and culture, by the enhancement of the living standard of the working people, and by the deepening of socialist democracy.

Soviet Communists are convinced that the future belongs to socialism. Each people is worthy of living in a society free of social and national oppression, in a society of genuine equality of rights and genuine democracy. To rid themselves of exploitation and injustice is the sovereign right of oppressed and exploited peoples. Revolutions are the logical result of social development and of the class struggle in each given country. The CPSU has considered and does consider the "export" of revolution and its imposition upon anyone from outside to be fundamentally unacceptable. But any forms of the "export" of counterrevolution are also a very crude encroachment upon the free will of the peoples and upon their right to independently choose the path of their development.

The Soviet Union resolutely opposes attempts to halt and reverse the course of history by force.

The interests of the peoples require that interstate relations be directed into the channel of peaceful competition and equitable cooperation.

THE CPSU UPHOLDS FIRMLY AND CONSISTENTLY THE LENINIST PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. The policy of peaceful coexistence, as the CPSU understands it, presupposes: the renunciation of war and of the use of force or threat of force as a means of resolving disputes, and their solution by negotiation; noninterference in the internal affairs and consideration of the legitimate interests of each other; the right of peoples independently to determine their own destiny; strict respect for sovereignty, for the territorial integrity of states, and for the inviolability of their borders; cooperation on the basis of full equality of rights and mutual benefit; and the conscientious discharge of commitments arising from the generally accepted principles and norms of international law and from international treaties that have been concluded.

Such are the fundamental principles upon which the Soviet Union builds its relations with the capitalist states. They are enshrined in the USSR Constitution.

The CPSU will purposefully promote the ubiquitous firm establishment in international relations of the principle of peaceful coexistence as a generally acknowledged norm of interstate relations which is observed by all. It considers the spread of the ideological contradictions between the two systems to the sphere of these relations to be inadmissible.

The party will strive for the development of the process of the relaxation of international tension, regarding it as a natural and necessary stage on the path toward the creation of a comprehensive and reliable system of security. The available experience of cooperation confirms the feasibility of such a prospect. The CPSU favors the creation and use of international mechanisms and institutions which would make it possible to find an optimal correlation of national and state interests with the interests common to all mankind. It favors the enhancement of the role of the United Nations Organization in consolidating peace and in the development of international cooperation.

Special responsibility for the situation in the world rests with the nuclear powers. The states possessing nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction must renounce their use and threat of their use and refrain from steps leading to an exacerbation of the international situation.

THE CPSU FAVORS NORMAL, STABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, which presuppose noninterference in internal affairs, respect for each other's legitimate interests, the acknowledgment and practical implementation of the principle of equality and identical security, and the establishment of the greatest possible mutual trust on this basis. Differences of social systems and ideology should not lead to tense relations. Objective preconditions exist for the establishment of fruitful, mutually advantageous Soviet-American cooperation in various spheres. It is the CPSU's conviction that the policy of both powers must be oriented toward mutual understanding and not toward enmity, which entails the threat of catastrophic consequences not only for the Soviet and American peoples but also for other peoples as well.

The party is convinced that all states, large and small, regardless of their potential, their geographical location and irrespective of which social system they belong to, can and must participate in the quest for solutions to acute problems, in the settlement of conflict situations, and in measures to relax tension and curb the arms race.

THE CPSU ATTACHES GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF PEACEFUL GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS AND COOPERATION AMONG THE STATES OF EUROPE. Respect for the territorial-political realities which came about as a result of World War II is an inalienable condition for the stability of positive processes in this and in other regions. The CPSU is resolutely opposed to attempts to revise these realities on any pretexts whatsoever and will rebuff any manifestations of revanchism.

The party will consistently strive to ensure that the process of strengthening security, trust, and peaceful cooperation in Europe, commenced at the Soviet Union's initiative and with its active participation, develops and deepens AND ENCOMPASSES THE WHOLE WORLD. The CPSU advocates the pooling of efforts of all interested states for the purposes of ensuring security in Asia and it advocates a joint search by them for a constructive solution to this problem. Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins can and must become zones of peace and good-neighborliness.

The CPSU favors the development of broad, long-term, and stable links between states in the spheres of economy, science, and technology on the basis of full equality and mutual advantage. Foreign economic cooperation is of great political significance, promoting the strengthening of peace and of relations of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. The Soviet Union rejects any forms of discrimination and the use of trading, economic, scientific, and technical relations as a means of exerting pressure, and it will seek to ensure the economic security of states.

The CPSU is an advocate of the broad mutual exchange of genuine cultural values between all countries. This exchange must serve humane goals: the spiritual enrichment of peoples and the strengthening of peace and good-neighborliness.

The Soviet state will cooperate with other countries in solving global problems, which have become especially exacerbated in the second half of the 20th century and are vitally important for all mankind: the preservation of the environment, the energy, raw materials, food, and demographic problems; the peaceful development of space and of the wealth of the world's oceans; the overcoming of the economic backwardness of many liberated countries; the liquidation of dangerous diseases; and so forth. Their solution requires the joint efforts of all states. It will be substantially facilitated if the squandering of effort and means on the arms race is terminated.

In the interests of mankind and for the good of the present and future generations, THE CPSU AND THE SOVIET STATE UPHOLD A BROAD, CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM OF MEASURES AIMED AT ENDING THE ARMS RACE AND SECURING DISARMAMENT AND AT ENSURING THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE PEOPLES.

Regarding GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT under strict, comprehensive international control as a historic task and continuing the struggle for its realization, the CPSU will consistently seek:

--THE LIMITATION AND NARROWING OF THE SPHERE OF MILITARY PREPARATIONS, especially those connected with weapons of mass destruction. Above all, space must be totally excluded from this sphere to ensure that it does not become an arena of military rivalry and a source of death and destruction. The exploration and development of space must be carried out only for peaceful purposes for the development of science and production in accordance with the needs of all peoples. The USSR favors collective efforts in the solution of this problem and will participate energetically in international cooperation of this kind. The Soviet Union will also advocate the adoption of measures which promote the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and the creation of zones free of these and other means of mass destruction;

--the implementation by stages before the end of the 20th century of THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS through the ending of tests and of the production of all types of these weapons, the renunciation by all nuclear powers of first use of these weapons, and the freezing, reduction, and destruction of all arsenals of these weapons;

--THE CESSATION OF THE PRODUCTION AND THE DESTRUCTION OF OTHER TYPES OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, including chemical weapons, and the prohibition of the creation of new types of such weapons;

--THE REDUCTION OF THE ARMED FORCES OF STATES, and primarily of the permanent members of the Security Council and of countries linked with them by military agreements, the limitation of conventional arms, the ending of the creation of new types of conventional arms which approximate to weapons of mass destruction, in terms of casualty-inflicting potential, and the lowering [snizheniye] of the military expenditure of states;

--THE FREEZING AND REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THE MOST EXPLOSIVE REGIONS OF THE PLANET, the elimination of military bases on foreign territory, the adoption of measures for mutual confidence building and for reducing the risk of the emergence of armed conflicts, including those arising accidentally [v resultate sluchaynosti].

The CPSU's stance is to seek to overcome the world's split into military-political groupings. The CPSU favors the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact or, as a first step, the dismantling of their military organizations. For the purpose of reducing the confrontation between military blocs, the Soviet Union advocates the conclusion of a treaty between them on the mutual nonuse of force and on the maintenance of relations of peace, which treaty will be open to all other states.

The party will make efforts to ensure that questions of arms limitation and of averting the threat of war may be resolved by honest and strictly observed accords on the basis of the equality and identical security of the sides, and that any attempts to conduct negotiations "from a position of strength" or to use them as a cover for building up arms may be ruled out.

The Soviet state and its allies do not strive to achieve military superiority, but nor will they allow the military-strategic equilibrium which has come about in the world arena to be disrupted. At the same time they consistently seek to ensure that the level of this equilibrium is steadily lowered and that the quantity of arms on both sides is reduced while the security of all peoples is guaranteed.

THE CPSU SOLEMNLY STATES THAT THERE IS NO WEAPON THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT BE PREPARED TO LIMIT OR PROHIBIT ON A MUTUAL BASIS WITH THE APPLICATION OF EFFECTIVE CONTROL.

The USSR does not encroach on the security of any country, be it in the West or in the East. It threatens no one, does not seek antagonism with any state, and desires to live in peace with all countries. Since the time of Great October, the Soviet socialist state has borne aloft the banner of peace and friendship among the peoples. The CPSU will continue to preserve its loyalty to this Leninist banner.

IV. The CPSU in the World Workers and Communist Movement

The CPSU is a component of the international communist movement. It views its activity to improve socialist society and to advance toward communism as a very important international task whose solution accords with the interests of the world socialist system, the international working class, and all mankind.

The communists, who have always been the most consistent fighters against social and national oppression, are now also on the frontline of the struggle for the conservation of peace on earth and for people's right to life. They clearly understand the reasons for the threat of war, expose those really to blame for the aggravation of international tension and the arms race, and seek to cooperate with all those who can contribute to the antiwar struggle.

The CPSU believes that the communist and workers parties of the nonsocialist world are acting in a complex and contradictory situation. The range of the conditions and forms of their struggle is very broad. But that does not restrict but, on the contrary, expands the movement's potential. The multiplicity of the forms of their activity enables communists better to consider specific national features and the specific historical situation and the interests of various social groups and strata of the population.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that the communists of each country independently analyze and assess the situation and determine autonomously their own strategic course, their own policy, and the choice of particular paths of struggle for immediate and ultimate goals and for communist ideals. The experience accumulated by the communist parties is a valuable international asset.

The CPSU attentively studies the foreign communist parties' problems and experience. It treats with understanding their desire to improve their strategy and tactics, to achieve the expansion of the class alliances on the platform of antimonopoly, antiwar actions and to uphold the working people's

economic interests and political rights, proceeding from the premise that the struggle for democracy is a component of the struggle for socialism.

The imperialist circles of various countries are closely coordinating their actions against socialism and all democratic forces and are seeking to set some communist parties against others. Under these conditions the importance of proletarian internationalism and communists' comradely solidarity increases.

The CPSU believes that the existence of differences on individual questions should not prevent the communist parties' international cooperation and their united actions.

In those cases when differences on individual problems arise between the fraternal parties, the CPSU considers it useful to hold comradely discussions with a view to better understanding each other's views and elaborating mutually acceptable assessments. When it is a case of the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and the thrust and role of real socialism, the CPSU will continue firmly to defend principle positions. This also defines the CPSU's attitude toward any attempts to emasculate the class meaning of communists' activity or to distort the revolutionary nature of the goals and means of the struggle to achieve them. Experience shows that deviations from the foundations of the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin weaken the communist movement's potential.

In its relations with the fraternal parties THE CPSU FIRMLY ADHERES TO THE PRINCIPLE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, which organically includes revolutionary solidarity and a recognition of each party's full autonomy and equal rights. On the basis of this principle the CPSU actively develops ties with the communist and workers parties, exchanging information and taking part in bilateral and multilateral meetings and the regional and broader international conferences held when necessary.

Soviet Communists are always on the side of their class comrades in the capitalist world. The CPSU will use its international prestige to defend communists who are the victims of reaction's tyranny. It assesses highly the solidarity on the part of the fraternal parties and their struggle against anti-Sovietism. The mutual support of the communist and workers parties of the socialist and nonsocialist countries is an important factor of social progress.

The CPSU will continue its line toward the development of relations with socialist, social-democratic, and labor parties. Cooperation with them can play an important part above all in preventing nuclear war. However deep the differences between various currents of the workers movement, this is no obstacle to the fruitful and systematic exchange of opinions or to parallel or joint actions against the danger of war and for the normalization of the international situation, the abolition of the vestiges of colonialism, and the working people's interests and rights.

The party attaches great importance to activating the cooperation of all sectors of the international workers movement and to the intensification of

collaboration between trade unions of various orientations and the youth, women's, peasants', and other democratic organizations of various countries.

Profoundly aware of its historic responsibility to the world working class and its communist vanguard, the CPSU will continue to:

--defend the revolutionary ideals and Marxist-Leninist foundations of the world communist movement, creatively develop the theory of scientific socialism, and consistently struggle against dogmatism and revisionism and any influences exerted by bourgeois ideology on the workers movement;

--do everything for the cohesion and collaboration of the fraternal parties, communists' international solidarity, and an increase in the communist movement's contribution to the prevention of world war;

--steer a consistent course toward the unity of actions of the international working class and all working people in the struggle for their common interests, for lasting peace and the peoples' security, and for national independence, democracy, and socialism.

Part Four. The CPSU--the Leading Force of Soviet Society

The CPSU has traveled a path unprecedented in its depth and in the force of its impact on social development. Its ascent has been rapid from the first Marxist circles through three people's revolutions to the leadership of a great socialist power.

The Soviet people's historic achievements in building a new society, the victory in the Great Patriotic War, the country's confident advance toward increasingly high levels of socioeconomic and spiritual progress, and the growth of the Soviet Union's influence on the course of world development are indivisibly linked with the Communist Party's activity. It is the inspirer and organizer of the masses' historical creativity and the leading and guiding force of our society. Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, the party defines the general prospects for the country's development, ensures the scientific leadership of the people's constructive activity, and imparts an organized, planned, and purposeful nature to communist building.

As a result of the building [postroyeniye] of socialism in the USSR, the transition of all strata of working people to the positions of the working class, and the consolidation of Soviet society's sociopolitical and ideological unity, the Communist Party, while remaining the party of the working class in terms of its class essence and ideology, has become the party of the whole people. This predetermines the revolutionary continuity and class-based nature of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy and entire activity.

Under the new historical conditions, when the country has been faced with crucial tasks in internal development and in the international arena, THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE NATURALLY GROWS in the life of Soviet society and higher demands are made on the standard of its political, organizational, and ideological activity. This is conditioned by basic factors such as:

--the increased dimensions and the complexity of the tasks of improving socialism and accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and the need to elaborate and consistently implement a policy which ensures their successful solution and the organic interconnection of society's economic, social, and spiritual progress;

--the development of the political system and the intensification of democracy and the people's socialist self-management on the basis of the masses' enhanced political and labor activeness and their broad involvement in the management of production and state and social affairs;

--the need for the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the in-depth consideration of the practice of communist building, the search for scientifically substantiated and timely answers to the questions set by life, the raising of working people's awareness, and the eradication of manifestations of petit bourgeois mentality and morality and any deviations from the norms of the socialist way of life;

--the interests of deepening the all-around cooperation and strengthening the cohesion of the socialist countries and the international communist and workers movement, solidarity with the forces of national liberation, and the struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, dogmatism, reformism, and sectarianism;

--the complication of foreign policy conditions in connection with the growth of imperialist aggressiveness, and the need to increase vigilance, ensure the country's security, and for new and persistent efforts aimed at curbing the forces of aggression, ending the arms race, saving mankind from the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, and strengthening world peace.

In implementing the political leadership of society, the CPSU will continue to consistently APPLY TRIED AND TESTED LENINIST PRINCIPLES, TO ASSERT THE LENINIST STYLE in party work and in all spheres of state and economic management, to enhance the scientific grounds for its policy; to extensively rely on the masses' collective reason and experience, and to develop their social initiative. It attaches fundamental significance to the unity of ideological, theoretical, political education, organizational, and economic activity, to the uncompromising struggle against any stagnation and conservatism, and to the creative quest for an effective solution to the problems which arise.

The CPSU deems it necessary to thoroughly take the specific functions of party, state, and social organs into account; to coordinate their work; to prevent duplication; to enhance the role of party committees as organs of political leadership; to eradicate manifestations of formalism, conventionalism, and bureaucratic and other distortions in the work of the management apparatus; to step up controls over the fulfillment of party resolutions and national economic plans; and to strengthen state and labor discipline, order, and organization.

The CPSU will tirelessly assert a creative approach, professionalism, and high responsibility and principledness in the activity of all party organizations and labor collectives, foster the ability objectively and self-critically to assess the results that have been achieved, and take an attentive and sensitive attitude to people and their needs and requirements.

The party indissolubly links the enhancement of the level of the leadership of state, economic, and cultural building with further IMPROVING WORK WITH CADRES. It deems it necessary for the Leninist principles of the selection and assessment of cadres according to their political, businesslike, and moral qualities to be rigorously observed everywhere, from the top down, and for public opinion to be more fully taken into account.

In its entire cadre policy the CPSU will promote the nomination for leadership of politically mature, highly moral, competent, and enterprising workers drawn from Communists and nonparty people and will more actively nominate women for leadership work. The party attaches principled importance to leadership qualities such as a sense of what is new, a closeness to people, a willingness to take responsibility, a desire to learn to work better, an ability to take into account the political purport of economic management, and demandingness toward oneself and others.

The party is concerned to ensure that in all sectors young and promising workers should work hand in hand with experienced cadres of the older generation, gain experience, and acquire the necessary tempering. This is a natural process which creates a reliable guarantee against sluggishness, stagnation, and voluntarism.

Trust in cadres must be combined with demandingness toward them, increasing their personal responsibility to party organizations and labor collectives for the results of work and the observance of party and state discipline, and stepping up controls over the activity of leaders on the part of the masses. Each leader must be fully accountable for his assigned task, properly build relations with people, and inspire them through personal example. NO PARTY ORGANIZATION AND NO WORKER SHOULD REMAIN OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF CONTROL.

The development of the party is characterized by the further GROWTH AND STRENGTHENING OF PARTY RANKS AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF INTRAPARTY RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM.

Absorbing front-ranking representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and Soviet intelligentsia, the party is increasing its influence in various sectors of communist building. The CPSU considers it necessary that workers take the leading place in its social makeup. People's political and professional qualities, honesty and probity, and readiness to devote all their strength to the cause of communism have been and remain the determining condition for admission to party ranks. Attempts to infiltrate the party for careerist motives must be resolutely stopped.

Belonging to the party brings no privileges but means merely higher responsibility for everything that is happening in the country and for the fate of communist building and social progress. Each Communist is obliged to

be a model in labor, in behavior, and in social and personal life. The stability of the party's ties with the masses and its prestige among the people largely depend on how fully the VANGUARD ROLE OF COMMUNISTS is manifested. The party will constantly step up demands on each Communist for the attitude to their duty and for the honest and pure makeup of a party member and assess them by their deeds and actions.

The CPSU regards the further DISSEMINATION AND DEEPENING OF INTRAPARTY DEMOCRACY, the strict observance of the Leninist norms of party life, the development of criticism and self-criticism, and extensive publicity as a guarantee of its successful activity and high creative activeness.

The party will continue to build its entire work on the basis of the tried and tested PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVENESS. With a view to further asserting and developing it, the CPSU deems it necessary to enhance the role and importance of party meetings, plenums, conferences, and congresses and of party committees and bureaus as collegial organs of leadership and to ensure favorable conditions for the free and businesslike discussion within the party of questions of its policy and practical activity.

In striving to ensure that the democratic principles of intraparty life are consistently implemented, the CPSU simultaneously devotes unremitting attention to the STRENGTHENING OF PARTY DISCIPLINE. The firm and conscientious discipline of party members is a necessary prerequisite for high socialist discipline in all spheres of society's life.

Successful party activity and the growth of Communists' activeness are indissolubly linked with further improving the work of primary party organizations. As the political nucleus of labor collectives they are called upon to promote in every possible way the combination of party policy with the vital creativity of the masses.

The party will always strengthen the unity and monolithic nature of party ranks. It retains in the arsenal of its means the organization guarantees stipulated by the CPSU Statutes against any manifestations of factionalism and cliquishness whatsoever. THE MOST IMPORTANT SOURCE OF THE PARTY'S STRENGTH AND INVINCIBILITY LIES IN ITS INDISSOLUBLE IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL COHESION.

The CPSU proceed from the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the people are the creators of history and that communist creation is the work of their hands, their energy, and their minds. The people's living creativity is the guarantee of all our achievements.

The party exists for the people and sees the purport of its activity in serving them. The goals and tasks which it sets itself reflect Soviet people's aspirations and fundamental interests. The party will continue to act in a spirit of high responsibility to the people, constantly expand and deepen its links with the masses, and live for their needs and concerns. It considers it its duty to constantly consult working people on the most important questions of domestic and foreign policy, to attentively take account of public opinion, and to involve nonparty people more actively in

participating in the work of party organizations. The more actively the party is supported by the people, the greater the influence it exerts on the course of social development.

In all its activity the CPSU is steadily guided by the TRIED AND TESTED MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF PROLETARIAN AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM. It will promote in every possible way the strengthening of the cohesion of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism; develop fraternal ties with all communist and workers parties; actively cooperate with them in the struggle for peace and against the danger of a nuclear catastrophe; and support their struggle for the defense of working people's fundamental interests and for national liberation, democracy, and socialism.

THAT IS THE CPSU PROGRAM.

The party calls on Communists and all working people--workers, kolkhoz members, and the intelligentsia--to tackle with all their vigor the implementation of the historic tasks put forward by it. The party is confident that Soviet people, perceiving the CPSU Program as their vital concern, will make every effort to implement it.

The party's strategy is to achieve a qualitatively new state of society through the substantial acceleration of socioeconomic progress. The all-around improvement of socialism will bring new benefits to each family and each Soviet person and will lead to the further prosperity of our socialist fatherland and ultimately to the triumph of communism.

Our people's onward movement toward this cherished goal will augment the magnetic force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and of the transformation of society on the basis of humanitarianism and social justice. They are winning people's hearts and minds through the example of the more sophisticated organization of society, the steady growth of productive forces, the nurturing of the conditions for people's creative labor, happiness, and prosperity, the resolute rejection of aggressive wars, and the assertion of the principles of peace and broad cooperation among the peoples on the basis of equality and universal security.

Communists and all our country's working people are looking to the future with confidence. The party is firmly convinced that through the selfless labor of the Soviet people--a creator people and builder people--the tasks that have been set will be resolved and the planned heights will be scaled.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND UNDER THE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM THE SOVIET PEOPLE HAVE BUILT SOCIALISM.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND UNDER THE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM THE SOVIET PEOPLE WILL BUILD A COMMUNIST SOCIETY.

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CSO: 1802/10-F

ON AMENDMENTS TO THE CPSU STATUTES. RESOLUTION OF THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS.
UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED 1 MARCH 1986

PM071427 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 86 [signed to press 11 Mar 86]
p 153

[Published in boldface in the original]

[Text] The text of the statutes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
with the amendments submitted to them is ratified.

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CSO: 1802/10-F

THE CPSU STATUTES. RATIFIED BY THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS

PM071800 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 86 [signed to press 11 Mar 86]
pp 153-168

[Text] The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the militant and tried and tested vanguard of the Soviet people, uniting on principles of voluntary participation the advanced and most conscious segment of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia of the USSR.

Founded by V.I. Lenin as the advanced detachment of the working class, the Communist Party has covered a glorious road of struggle and led the working class and the toiling peasants to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the exploiter classes were liquidated in the Soviet Union, and the sociopolitical and ideological unity of the Soviet multinational society was established and is constantly strengthening. Socialism has won full and final victory. The proletarian state has developed into a state of the whole people. The country has entered the stage of developed socialism.

The CPSU, while remaining in its class essence and ideology the party of the working class, has become the party of the entire people.

The party exists for the people and serves the people. It is the highest form of sociopolitical organization, the nucleus of the political system, and the leading and directing force of Soviet society. The party defines the general prospects of the country's development and ensures scientific leadership of the people's creative activity and gives an organized, planned, and purposeful character to their struggle to reach the final goal--the victory of communism.

In all its activity the CPSU is guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching and its program, in which the tasks of the systematic and all-round improvement of socialism and of Soviet society's further advance toward communism on the basis of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development are defined.

The CPSU builds its work on the basis of strict observance of Leninist norms of party life and the principles of democratic centralism, collectiveness of

leadership, the all-round development of intraparty democracy, the creative activeness of Communists, criticism and self-criticism, and broad publicity.

The immutable law of the life of the CPSU is the ideological and organizational unity and monolithic cohesion of its ranks and the high, conscious discipline of all Communists. Any manifestation of factionalism and group activity is incompatible with Marxist-Leninist party principles and party membership. The party rids itself of persons who violate the program and the CPSU Statutes and who compromise by their behavior the lofty title of Communist.

Creatively developing Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU resolutely combats any manifestations of revisionism and dogmatism, which are deeply alien to revolutionary theory.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an integral part of the international communist movement. It is firmly based on tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism and actively assists in strengthening the cooperation and cohesion of the fraternal socialist countries, the world system of socialism, and the international communist and workers movement, and displays solidarity with peoples struggling for national and social liberation, against imperialism, and for the preservation of peace.

I. Members of the Party, Their Duties and Rights

1. Any citizen of the Soviet Union who accepts the party program and statutes, who actively participates in the building of communism, who works in a party organization, who fulfills party decisions, and who pays membership dues may be a member of the CPSU.

2. Duties of the party member:

a. To implement firmly and unswervingly the party's general line and directives, explain the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy to the masses, organize the working people to implement it, and promote the strengthening and expansion of the ties between the party and the people;

b. To set an example in labor, protect and augment socialist property, seek persistently to improve production efficiency, to steadily increase labor productivity, to improve output quality, and to introduce into the national economy the achievements of modern science, technology, and advanced experience, improve his qualifications, be a vigorous champion of everything new and progressive, and make the greatest possible contribution to accelerating the country's socioeconomic development;

c. To take an active part in the political life of the country, in the management of state and public affairs, set an example in the execution of civic duty, and actively promote the increasingly full implementation of socialist people's self-management;

d. To master Marxist-Leninist theory, expand his political and cultural horizons, and promote in every possible way the raising of the consciousness and the ideological and moral growth of Soviet people. To wage a resolute struggle against any manifestations of bourgeois ideology, the private ownership mentality, religious prejudices, and other views and customs that are alien to the socialist way of life;

e. To strictly observe the norms of communist morality, to affirm the principle of social justice inherent in socialism, to put public interests above personal interests, to display modesty and decency, sensitivity, and attention toward people, to respond promptly to the working people's demands and needs, and to be truthful and honest to the party and people;

f. To consistently convey to the masses of working people the ideas of proletarian, socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism, combat manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, and actively help to strengthen the friendship among the USSR's peoples and fraternal ties with the socialist countries and with the proletarians and working people of the whole world;

g. To further in every possible way the strengthening of the USSR's defense might and to wage a tireless struggle for peace and friendship among the peoples;

h. To strengthen the ideological and organizational unity of the party, to protect the party against the penetration into its ranks of people unworthy of the high title of Communist, to display vigilance, and to keep party and state secrets;

i. To develop criticism and self-criticism, boldly expose shortcomings and work to eliminate them, fight against ostentation, conceit, complacency, and window dressing, decisively rebuff all attempts to suppress criticism, and oppose bureaucratism, parochialism, departmentalism, and any activities prejudicial to the party and state and report them to the party organs, right up to the CPSU Central Committee;

j. To pursue strictly the party line on the selection of cadres on the basis of their political, professional, and moral qualities. To be implacable in all cases where the Leninist principles of the selection and education of cadres are violated;

k. To observe party and state discipline, equally obligatory for all members of the party. The party has only one discipline and one law for all Communists, irrespective of services or office.

3. The party member has the right:

a. To elect and to be elected to the party organs;

b. To discuss freely at party meetings, conferences, congresses, and party committee sessions and in the party press questions regarding the party's policy and practical activity, submit proposals, and openly express and defend his opinion before the organization adopts a decision;

c. To criticize at party meetings, conferences, congresses, and committee plenums any party organ or any Communist, irrespective of the post he occupies. Persons guilty of suppressing criticism or persecuting others for criticism must be called to strict party account, up to and including expulsion from the ranks of the CPSU;

d. To take part personally in party meetings and bureau and committee sessions when the question of his activity and behavior is being discussed;

e. To address questions, statements, and proposals to any party body, up to and including the CPSU Central Committee, and to demand a reply on the substance of the application.

4. Admission to party membership is carried out exclusively on an individual basis. Workers, peasants, and members of the intelligentsia who are conscious, active, and devoted to the cause of communism are admitted as party members. New members are admitted from the ranks of candidate members with the required length of candidate party service.

Persons who have reached the age of 18 years are admitted to the party. Young people up to the age of 25, inclusive, enter the party only through the All-Union Komsomol.

Procedure for the admission of candidates as party members:

a. Persons to be admitted as party members must produce recommendations from three CPSU members with no less than 5 years' standing in the party who have been acquainted with the candidate in joint production and public work for not less than a year.

Note 1. Members of the All-Union Komsomol entering the party submit the recommendation of the All-Union Komsomol raykom or gorkom, which is equivalent to the recommendation of one party member.

Note 2. Members and candidates for membership in the CPSU Central Committee will refrain from acting as sponsors;

b. The question of admission to the party is discussed and decided by the general meeting of the primary party organization; its decision is deemed to be adopted if not less than two-thirds of the party members present at the meeting voted for it, and comes into force after ratification by the raykom, or, in towns which have no rayon division, by the party gorkom.

The presence of the sponsors is not obligatory during the discussion of admission to the party. Admission to the party takes place, as a rule, at open meetings;

c. Citizens of the USSR who were formerly members of communist and workers parties in other countries are admitted to the CPSU on the basis of rules established by the CPSU Central Committee.

5. Sponsors are responsible to the party organizations for objectively describing the political, professional, and moral qualities of the candidates and give them assistance in ideological and political growth.

6. The length of party service of persons admitted to the party dates from adoption of the decision by the general meeting of the primary party organization admitting the candidate to party membership.

7. The procedure for registering members and candidates for party membership and their transfer from one organization to another is established by appropriate instructions of the CPSU Central Committee.

8. The question of party members and candidates who without valid reason have failed to pay membership dues for 3 months is subject to discussion in the primary party organization. If it is found that a given member or candidate for party membership has in fact lost contact with the party organization, he is then considered struck from the party roll and the primary party organization adopts a decision to that effect and submits it to the party raykom or gorkom for ratification.

9. The party member or candidate member will be made to answer for failure to carry out the duties laid down by the statutes and other offenses, and the following penalties may be imposed on him: public warning, reprimand (severe reprimand), reprimand (severe reprimand) with notation in his report card. The severest form of party punishment is expulsion from the party.

For minor offenses, party educational measures and other means of influence must be applied in the form of comradely criticism, party censure, warning, and instruction.

A Communist who has committed a misdemeanor answers for it in the first instance to the primary party organization. If a Communist is called to party account by a higher organ, the primary party organization is informed of this.

In examining the question of calling [a Communist] to party account, maximum caution and a painstaking examination of the validity of the accusations leveled against the Communist must be ensured.

Not later than a year after the imposition of a penalty on a party member the party organization must hear his report on how he is rectifying the shortcomings he committed.

10. The question of expelling a Communist from the party is decided by a general meeting of the primary party organization. The decision of the primary party organization regarding expulsion from the party is considered adopted when not less than two-thirds of the party members attending the meeting vote for it and enters into force after its ratification by the party raykom or gorkom.

Until the party raykom or gorkom ratifies the decision for expulsion from the CPSU, the party card or candidate's card will be retained by the Communist and he has the right to attend closed party meetings.

Anyone expelled from the party has the right to appeal within a 2-month period to higher party organs, up to and including the CPSU Central Committee.

11. The question of calling to party account the members and candidate members of a union republic Communist Party central committee or party kraykom, obkom, okruzhkom, gorkom, or raykom, and also of the members of the auditing commissions is discussed in primary party organizations, and decisions imposing penalties on them are taken by regular procedure.

The proposals of the party organizations for expulsion from the CPSU are conveyed to the appropriate party committee of which the Communist in question is a member. Decisions regarding expulsion from the party of members and candidate members of a union republic communist party central committee or party kraykom, obkom, okruzhkom, gorkom, or raykom, and members of the auditing commissions are adopted at the plenum of the appropriate committee by a majority of two-thirds of the votes of its members.

The question of expulsion from the party of a member or candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee or a member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission is decided by the party congress and, during the period between congresses, by a plenum of the Central Committee by a majority of two-thirds of the members of the CPSU Central Committee

12. A party member bears a dual responsibility for violation of Soviet laws--to the state and to the party. Persons committing misdemeanors punishable by criminal proceedings are expelled from the ranks of the CPSU.

13. Appeals of members expelled from the party or penalized by the party and the decisions of the party organizations on expulsion from the party are reviewed by the appropriate party organs not later than 2 months from the date of their receipt.

II. Candidates for Party Membership

14. Persons joining the party undergo a period of candidate service necessary to familiarize them in greater depth with the CPSU Program and Statutes and prepare them to join the party.

The party organization must assist candidates in preparing for CPSU membership and check their personal qualities as reflected in practical actions and in the fulfillment of party and public instructions.

The length of the trial period for a candidate is 1 year.

15. Procedure for candidate admission (individual admission, submission of recommendations, and decision of primary organization on candidate admission and its ratification) is the same as for admission to party membership.

16. On the expiration of the trial period, the primary party organization considers and decides on the admission of the candidate to CPSU membership. Should a candidate fail to prove himself during the trial period and should

his personal qualities make him unworthy of CPSU membership, the party organization will adopt a decision refusing him admission to the party and, on ratification of this decision by a party raykom or gorkom, he will cease to be a candidate for CPSU membership.

17. Candidate members of the party participate in all party organization activities and have a consultative vote at party meetings. Candidate members of the party cannot be elected to leading party organs or be delegates to party conferences and congresses.

18. Candidate members of the CPSU pay the same party dues as party members.

III. Organizational Structure of the Party. Intraparty Democracy

19. The guiding principle of the organizational structure and of the life and activity of the party is democratic centralism, which means:

a. Election of all leading party organs, from the lowest to the highest organ;

b. Periodic accountability of party organs to their party organizations and higher organs;

c. Strict party discipline and the subordination of the minority to the majority;

d. The decisions of the higher organs are absolutely binding on lower organs;

e. Collectiveness in the work of all party organizations and leading organs and personal responsibility on the part of each Communist for the fulfillment of his duties and party assignments.

20. The party is structured on the territorial-production basis: Primary organizations are formed at the Communist's place of work and are united in rayon, city, and other organizations in a given territory. The organization uniting the Communists of a given territory is the superior organ for all party organizations constituting that organization.

21. All party organizations are autonomous in deciding local matters, provided the decisions are not contrary to party policy.

22. The highest leadership organ of the party organization is: the general meeting or conference (for primary organizations); the conference (for rayon, city, rayon, oblast, and kray organizations); and the congress (for union republic communist parties and the CPSU). The meeting, conference, and congress are quorate if more than half of the members of the party organization or elected delegates are present.

23. The general meeting, conference, or congress elects the bureau or committee, which are the executive organs and guide the entire current work of the party organization.

In the CPSU Central Committee, union republic Communist Party central committees, and party kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms an apparatus is created for current work to organize and verify the execution of party decisions and to assist lower organizations in their activity.

The structure and staff of the party apparatus are determined by the CPSU Central Committee.

24. The election of party organs is by closed (secret) ballot. At meetings in primary and shop organizations with fewer than 15 party members and in party groups the election of secretaries and deputy secretaries of party organizations and party group organizers may take place by open ballot with the consent of the Communists. In these primary organizations delegates to rayon and city party conferences are elected by the same procedure.

All members of the party have the unrestricted right during elections to reject candidates and criticize them. Each candidacy must be voted on separately. Candidates will be deemed elected if over half of the participants in the meeting, conference, or congress vote for them.

In the election of all party organs from primary organizations to the CPSU Central Committee the principle of the systematic renewal of their composition and of continuity of leadership shall be observed.

25. Members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, union republic Communist Party central committees, and party kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms must, in all their activities, justify the great trust shown in them. If the party committee member or candidate member loses his honor and dignity, he cannot remain in the body of the committee.

The question of the removal of the party committee member or candidate member from the party committee is decided at a plenum of the committee. The decision is considered adopted if in a closed (secret) ballot no less than two-thirds of the party committee members vote for it.

The question of the removal of members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and the auditing commissions of local party organizations from those commissions is decided at their sessions under the procedure laid down for members and candidate members of party committees.

26. Free and businesslike discussion of the questions of party policy in the party and in all its organizations is an important principle of intraparty democracy. Only on the basis of intraparty democracy is it possible to ensure high creative activeness on the part of Communists, open criticism and self-criticism, and firm party discipline, which must be conscious and not mechanical.

Debates on disputed or insufficiently clear questions are possible within the framework of individual organizations or the party as a whole.

Partywide debate is held:

- a. On the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee, if it finds it necessary to consult the whole party on particular questions of policy.
- b. At the proposal of several party organizations of the republican, kray, or oblast level.

Broad debates, especially debates on an all-union scale about questions of party policy, must be carried out so as to ensure the free expression of the views of party members and to exclude the possibility of attempts to form factional groupings and split the party.

27. The highest principle of party leadership is collectiveness of leadership--an essential condition for normal activity of party organizations, for the correct education of cadres, and for the development of the activeness and spontaneous activity of Communists and a reliable guarantee against the adoption of willful, subjectivist decisions, against the manifestation of the cult of personality, and against violations of the Leninist norms of party life.

The collectiveness of leadership presupposes personal responsibility for assigned work and constant monitoring of the activity of every party organization and every worker.

28. The CPSU Central Committee, union republic Communist Party central committees, and party kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms systematically inform party organizations about their work and about the implementation of Communists' criticisms and proposals in the period between congresses and conferences.

An immutable rule for party committees and primary party organizations is also the objective and timely briefing of higher party organs about their own activity and the situation at local level.

29. For the discussion of the most important party decisions and the elaboration of measures to implement them, as well as the examination of questions of local life, meetings are convened of the aktiv of rayon, city, okrug, oblast, and kray party organizations and union republic communist parties.

30. Standing or temporary commissions and working groups on various questions of party work may be created in party committees, and other forms of involvement of Communists in the activity of party organs on a voluntary basis may also be used.

IV. The Highest Party Organs

31. The supreme organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the party congress. Regular congresses are convened by the Central Committee at least once every 5 years. The convocation of the party congress and the agenda are announced not less than 1 and 1/2 months before the congress. Out-of-turn

(extraordinary) congresses are convened by the party Central Committee on its own initiative or at the request of not less than one-third of the total number of party members represented at the last party congress. Out-of-turn (extraordinary) congresses are convened on 2 months' notice. The congress is considered valid if at least half the total number of party members are represented at it.

The norms for representation at the party congress are laid down by the Central Committee.

32. If the party Central Committee does not convene an out-of-turn (extraordinary) congress within the term specified in Article 31, organizations requesting the convocation of an out-of-turn (extraordinary) congress have the right to form an organizing committee possessing the rights of the party Central Committee to convene an out-of-turn (extraordinary) congress.

33. The congress:

a. Hears and approves the reports of the Central Committee, the Central Auditing Commission, and other central organizations;

b. Reviews, amends, and approves the party program and statutes;

c. Determines the party line on questions of domestic and foreign policy and examines and decides on the most important questions of party and state life and communist building;

d. Elects the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission.

34. The Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission are elected in the composition established by the congress. In the event of the departure of members of the Central Committee, its membership is replenished from among the candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee elected by the congress.

35. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the period between congresses leads all the activity of the party and of local party organs; selects and places leading cadres; directs the work of central state and public organizations of the working people; creates various organs, institutions, and enterprises of the party and leads their activities; appoints the editorial staff of central papers and journals functioning under its control; and allocates funds from the party budget and monitors its execution.

The Central Committee represents the CPSU in its relations with other parties.

36. The CPSU Central Auditing Commission inspects compliance with the established procedure for the conduct of affairs and work to examine working people's letters, statements, and complaints in central party organs, the correct execution of the party budget, including the payment, receipt, and accounting of members' party dues, and also the financial and economic activity of enterprises and institutions of the CPSU Central Committee.

37. The CPSU Central Committee holds not less than one plenary session every 6 months. Candidate members of the Central Committee attend the sessions of Central Committee plenums with the right of consultative vote.

38. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union elects: a Politburo to lead the work of the party between Central Committee plenums and a secretariat to lead current work, mainly in the selection of cadres and organization of the verification of execution. The Central Committee elects a general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

39. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union organizes the Party Control Committee under the Central Committee.

The Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee:

a. Verifies compliance with party discipline by members and candidate members of the CPSU, calls to account Communists guilty of violating the party program and statutes and party and state discipline, as well as violators of party ethics;

b. Examines appeals against the decisions of the union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms on expulsion from the party and on party penalties.

40. In the period between party congresses the CPSU Central Committee may, when necessary, convene an all-union party conference to discuss pressing matters of party policy. The procedure for holding an all-union party conference is determined by the CPSU Central Committee.

V. Republic, Kray, Oblast, Okrug, City, and Rayon Party Organizations

41. The republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party organizations and their committees are guided in their activity by the CPSU Program and Statutes, carry out within the republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon all the work of implementing party policy, and organize fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee's directives.

42. The fundamental duties of republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party organizations and their leading organs are:

a. Political and organizational work among the masses; the mobilization of Communists and all working people to implement the tasks of communist building, accelerate socioeconomic development on the basis of scientific and technical progress, increase social production efficiency and labor productivity, improve output quality, and fulfill the state plans and socialist pledges; and the ensuring of steady growth in the working people's material well-being and cultural level.

b. The organization of ideological work; propaganda of Marxism-Leninism; the enhancement of working people's communist consciousness; leadership of the

local press, radio, and television; and monitoring of the activity of scientific, cultural, and educational institutions;

c. Leadership of soviets of people's deputies, trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperatives, and other public organizations through the Communists working in them; increasingly broad involvement of working people in the work of these organizations; and development of the spontaneous activity and activeness of the masses as a necessary condition for the further deepening of socialist democracy;

d. Strict observance of Leninist principles and methods of leadership; the establishment of a Leninist style in party work and all spheres of state and economic management; the ensuring of the unity of ideological, organizational, and economic activity; and the strengthening of socialist legality, state and labor discipline, order, and organization in all sectors;

e. The implementation of cadre policy and the education of cadres in the spirit of communist ideological commitment, and moral purity, and high responsibility to the party and the people for the tasks entrusted to them;

f. Organization of various institutions and enterprises of the party in the republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon, and leadership of their activity; allocation of party funds within their organization; systematic reports to the higher party organ and accountability to it for their work.

The Leading Organs of the Republic, Kray, and Oblast Party Organizations

43. The highest organ of the republic, kray, and oblast party organization is the union republic Communist Party congress and the kray and oblast party conference, and, in the period between them, the union republic Communist Party Central Committee, kraykom, and obkom.

44. The regular congress of the union republic Communist Party is convened by the Communist Party Central Committee at least once every 5 years. The regular kray and oblast conference is convened by the kraykom and obkom once every 2-3 years. Out-of-turn (extraordinary) congresses and conferences are convened by decision of the union republic Communist Party Central Committee, kraykom, or obkom, or on the demand of one-third of the total number of members of the organizations belonging to the republic, kray, or oblast party organization.

The norms for representation at the union republic Communist Party congress and kray and oblast conference are established by the relevant party committee.

The union republic Communist Party congress and kray and oblast conference hear reports from the union republic Communist Party Central Committee, kraykom, obkom, and the Auditing Commission; discuss at their discretion other questions of party, economic, and cultural building; and elect the union republic Communist Party Central Committee, kraykom, obkom, and the Auditing Commission, and delegates to the CPSU congress.

In the period between union republic Communist Party congresses, in order to discuss the most important questions of party organizations' activity, Communist Party central committees may, where necessary, convene republican party conferences. The procedure for holding republican party conferences is determined by the union republic Communist Party Central Committees.

45. The union republic Communist Party central committees, kraykoms, and obkoms elect a bureau, including committee secretaries. The secretaries must have had at least 5 years of party service. At the committee plenum chiefs of committee sections, party control commission chairmen, and editors of party papers and journals are confirmed.

Secretariats are established to handle current questions and verify execution in union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms.

46. The plenum of a union republic Communist Party Central Committee, kraykom, and obkom must be convened not less than once every 4 months.

47. The union republic Communist Party Central Committee, kraykom, and obkom lead okrug, city, and rayon party organizations, check their activities, and systematically receive reports from the relevant party committees.

The party organizations of autonomous republics and of autonomous and other oblasts included in union republics and krays work under the leadership of the union republic Communist Party central committees and kraykoms.

Leading Organs of Okrug, City, and Rayon (Rural and City) Party Organizations

48. The highest organ of the okrug, city, and rayon party organization is the okrug, city, and rayon party conference or general meeting of Communists convened by the okruzhkom, gorkom, or raykom once every 2-3 years, and the out-of-turn session convened by decision of the committee or by the demand of one-third of the total number of party members belonging to the corresponding party organization.

The okrug, city, and rayon conference (meeting) hears reports of the committee and the auditing commission; at its discretion examines other questions regarding party, economic, and cultural building; and elects the okruzhkom, gorkom, and raykom, the Auditing Commission, and delegates to the oblast or kray conferences and to the congress of the union republic's Communist Party.

The norms for representation at okrug, city, and rayon conferences are established by the party committee concerned.

49. The okruzhkom, gorkom, and raykom elect a bureau, including committee secretaries, and also confirm the heads of committee sections, the party control chairman, and newspaper editors. Okruzhkom, gorkom, and raykom secretaries must have at least 5 years' party membership. Committee secretaries are confirmed by the obkom, kraykom, and union republic Communist Party Central Committee.

50. The okruzhkom, gorkom, and raykom create primary party organizations, lead their activities, systematically hear reports on the work of the party organizations, and conduct the registration of Communists.

51. Okruzhkom, gorkom, and raykom plenums are convened not less than once every 3 months.

VI. Primary Party Organizations

52. The foundation of the party is the primary organizations.

Primary party organizations are created at the working place of the party member--in plants, factories, sovkhozes and other enterprises, kolkhozes, units of the armed forces, institutions, educational institutions, and so forth--where there are at least three party members. Where necessary territorial primary party organizations may also be formed at the places of residence of Communists.

In individual cases, with the permission of the obkom, kraykom, or union republic Communist Party Central Committee, party organizations may be created within the framework of several enterprises belonging to a production association and located, as a rule, on the territory of one rayon or several rayons in one city.

53. At enterprises, kolkhozes, and institutions with over 50 CPSU members and candidate members, party organizations may be created within the overall primary party organization at workshops, sectors, livestock units, teams, departments, and so forth with the permission of the raykom, gorkom, or okruzhkom.

In the workshop, sector, and other organizations, as well as within primary party organizations with less than 50 members and candidate members, party groups may be created within the teams and other production links.

54. The highest organ of the primary party organization is the party meeting, which is held at least once a month. In party organizations which have shop organizations, meetings, both general and shop, are held at least once every 2 months.

In large party organizations numbering more than 300 Communists general party meetings are called as necessary within periods established by the party committees or at the request of several shop party organizations.

55. To conduct current work, the primary and the shop party organization elects for a period of 2-3 years a bureau whose numerical size is established at a party meeting. Primary and shop party organizations with less than 15 party members do not elect a bureau but a party organization secretary and a deputy. Elections in these organizations are held annually.

The secretaries of primary and shop party organizations must have had at least 1 year of party service.

In primary party organizations with less than 150 party members, party work, as a rule, is carried out by persons not excused from their jobs.

56. Party committees can be established at large enterprises and in establishments comprising over 300 members and candidate members of the party, and in necessary cases, considering production peculiarities and territorial dispersion, also in organizations numbering over 100 Communists--with the permission of the obkom, kraykom, or the union republic Communist Party Central Committee, with the allocation to shop party organizations of these enterprises or institutions of the rights of primary party organizations.

In the party organizations of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises in agriculture, party committees may be created where there are 50 Communists.

In party organizations numbering over 500 Communists, in individual cases, with the permission of the obkom, kraykom, or union republic Communist Party Central Committee, party committees may be created in large shops, and the party organizations of production sectors are granted the rights of primary party organizations.

Party committees are elected for a term of 2-3 years and their size is determined by a general party meeting or conference.

Party committees, party bureaus, and secretaries of primary and shop party organizations systematically inform Communists about their work at party meetings.

57. Party committees of primary organizations numbering more than 1,000 Communists, with the permission of union republic Communist Party central committees, may be granted the rights of a party raykom on questions concerning admission to the CPSU, the registration of party members and candidates, and the examination of Communists' personal files.

Within these organizations enlarged party committees may be elected within which a bureau is formed for the leadership of current work.

58. The primary party organization is guided in its activities by the Program and Statutes of the CPSU. It is the political nucleus of the labor collective, works directly among the working people, rallies them around the party, organizes them to fulfill the tasks of communist building, and participates actively in the implementation of the party's cadre policy.

The primary party organization:

- a. Admits new members to the CPSU;
- b. Educates Communists in a spirit of devotion to the cause of the party, ideological conviction, and communist morality;
- c. Organizes the study by Communists of Marxist-Leninist theory in close connection with the practice of communist building and combats any

manifestations of bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism, and backward views and sentiments;

d. Shows concern for enhancing the vanguard role of the Communists in labor and sociopolitical life and for their exemplary behavior in everyday life and hears reports from members and candidate members of the CPSU on their implementation of statutory duties and party assignments;

e. Organizes working people to resolve the tasks of economic and social development; heads socialist competition to fulfill state plans and pledges, to promote the intensification of production, to improve labor productivity and output quality, and to widely introduce into production the achievements of science and technology and leading experience; mobilizes the working people to find internal reserves; seeks the rational, economical utilization of material, labor, and financial resources; and displays concern for the preservation and augmentation of public wealth and the improvement of people's working and living conditions;

f. Carries out mass agitation and propaganda work, educates the working people in the spirit of devotion to the ideas of communism, Soviet patriotism, and the friendship of peoples, helps them to develop a high political culture, and enhances their social activeness and responsibility;

g. Promotes the development in Communists and all working people of habits of participation in socialist self-management, ensures an increase in the labor collective's role in the management of the enterprise or institution, and directs the work of trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations;

h. On the basis of the wide development of criticism and self-criticism, wages a struggle against manifestations of bureaucratism, parochialism, and departmentalism and breaches of state, labor and production discipline, roots out attempts to cheat the state, takes measures against slackness, mismanagement, and waste, and seeks to establish a sober way of life.

59. Primary party organizations of enterprises in industry, transport, communications, construction, material and technical supply, trade, public catering, and municipal and consumer services, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and other agricultural enterprises, planning organizations, design bureaus, scientific research institutes, educational establishments, and cultural enlightenment and medical institutions have the right to monitor the activity of the administration.

Party organizations of ministries, state committees, and other central and local soviet and economic institutions and departments exercise monitoring of the work of the apparatus in fulfilling party and government directives and observing Soviet laws. They must actively influence the improvement of the work of the apparatus and the selection, placement, and education of its employees; enhance their responsibility for their assigned tasks, for the development of the sector, and for services to the population; take measures to strengthen state discipline; wage a decisive struggle against bureaucratism and red tape; and promptly inform the appropriate party organs of any

shortcomings in the work of the institution or individual workers, regardless of their positions.

Note. In primary party organizations commissions may be formed to exercise the right of monitoring the administration's activity and the work of the apparatus in particular areas of production activity.

VII. The Party and State and Public Organizations

60. The CPSU, acting within the framework of the USSR Constitution, exercises political leadership of state and public organizations and directs and coordinates their activity.

Party organizations and the Communists working in state and public organizations strive to ensure that these organizations fully exercise their constitutional powers and statutory rights and duties and widely involve working people in management and in the resolution of political, economic, and social questions.

Party organizations do not supplant soviet, trade union, cooperative, and other public organizations and do not tolerate confusion of the functions of party and other organs.

61. At congresses, conferences, and meetings convened by state and public organizations and also in the elected organs of these organizations where there are at least three party members, party groups will be organized. The task of these groups is to pursue the party's policy in the relevant nonparty organizations, to strengthen Communists' influence on the state of affairs in these organizations, to develop democratic norms in their activity, to strengthen party and state discipline, to struggle against bureaucratism, and to verify the execution of party and soviet directives.

62. The work of party groups in nonparty organizations is led by the corresponding party organs: the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the union republic Communist Party Central Committee, the party kraykom, obkom, okruzhkom, gorkom, and raykom.

VIII. The Party and the Komsomol

63. The All-Union Lenin Komsomol is an independently functioning sociopolitical youth organization which is an active assistant and reserve of the party. The Komsomol helps the party to educate young people in the spirit of communism, to involve them in the practical building of a new society and the management of state and public affairs, and to mold a generation of comprehensively developed people ready for labor and the defense of the Soviet motherland.

64. Komsomol organizations are called upon to be active promoters of the party's goals in all spheres of production and public life. They have the right of broad initiative in the discussion and submission to the appropriate party organizations of questions regarding the work of enterprises, kolkhozes, institutions, and educational establishments and participate directly in their

resolution, especially where they concern the labor, life, training, and education of young people.

65. The All-Union Komsomol works under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The work of the local organizations of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol is directed and controlled by the respective republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party organizations.

Local party organs and primary party organizations rely on the Komsomol organizations in work for the communist education of young people and for their mobilization to resolve specific tasks of production and social life, support their useful initiatives, and give all-round assistance in their activity.

66. Members of the All-Union Komsomol who are admitted to the CPSU leave the Komsomol the moment they join the party unless they are members of elected Komsomol organs and are in Komsomol work.

IX. Party Organizations in the Armed Forces

67. The party organizations of the Armed Forces are guided by the Program and Statutes of the CPSU in their activities and work on the basis of the instructions confirmed by the Central Committee. They ensure the implementation of party policy in the armed forces, rally their personnel around the Communist Party, educate servicemen in the spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and selfless devotion to the socialist motherland, actively assist in consolidating the unity of the army and the people, take care to increase the combat readiness of troops and strengthen military discipline, and mobilize personnel to fulfill tasks of combat and political training, to master new technology and weapons, and to irreproachably fulfill their military duties, orders, and instructions of the command.

68. The leadership of party work in the Armed Forces is carried out by the CPSU Central Committee via political organs. The Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate has the rights of a section of the CPSU Central Committee.

The chiefs of the political directorates of districts and fleets and the chiefs of the political sections of armies, flotillas, and formations must have had 5 years' party membership.

69. Party organizations and political organs of the Armed Forces maintain close ties with the local party committees and inform them systematically about political work in military units. Secretaries of military party organizations and leaders of political organs participate in the work of local party committees.

X. Party Finances

70. The financial resources of the party and its organizations consist of membership dues, income from party enterprises, and other revenues.

The procedure for the utilization of the party's financial resources is determined by the CPSU Central Committee.

71. Monthly membership dues for party members and candidate members of the CPSU are as follows:

Monthly Income	Dues
(in rubles)	
up to 70	10 kopeks
71 to 100	20 kopeks
101 to 150	1.0 percent of monthly income
151 to 200	1.5 percent of monthly income
201 to 250	2.0 percent of monthly income
251 to 300	2.5 percent of monthly income
over 300	3.0 percent of monthly income

72. Joining fees of 2 percent of monthly income are paid on becoming a candidate member of the party.

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CSO: 1802/10-F

ON THE BASIC GUIDELINES FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR FOR 1986-1990 AND THE PERIOD THROUGH THE YEAR 2000. RESOLUTION OF THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS. UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED 5 MARCH 1986

PM081834 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 86 [signed to press 11 Mar 86]
p 169

[Text] Having heard and discussed the report by Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and the Period Through the Year 2000, the 27th CPSU Congress notes that the draft Basic Guidelines accord with the provisions of the new edition of the CPSU Program, the party's general course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and the tasks of intensifying the national economy on the basis of technical progress, ensuring the steady improvement of the people's well-being, and maintaining the country's defense capability at the requisite level.

The 27th CPSU Congress decrees that:

1. The Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and the Period Through the Year 2000 be ratified.
2. That the USSR Council of Ministers elaborate in accordance with the Basic Guidelines a draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 with targets specific for the years of the 5-year plan, for USSR ministries and departments, for union republics, and for the most important economic regions, and submit it for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet in May 1986.

The 5-year plan should envisage the implementation of targets and measures laid down by the Basic Guidelines for increasing the rate and improving the effectiveness of economic development and for achieving further improvements in the Soviet people's living standard. During the elaboration of the 5-year plan, it is necessary to examine proposals submitted at the 27th CPSU Congress and during the report and election campaign in the party and the nationwide discussion of the draft new edition of the CPSU Program and draft Basic Guidelines.

3. The 27th CPSU Congress regards the high-quality elaboration and organization of the efficient fulfillment of the new 5-year plan as a very important economic and political task for all party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic organizations.

In the 12th 5-Year Plan it is necessary to ensure a fundamental breakthrough in work, to mobilize our resources and potential more fully, and to bring into play all reserves for the unconditional fulfillment of the projected plans. The rate of progress in all spheres of socioeconomic development is to be increased by providing scope for the masses' creative initiative and by strengthening discipline and order.

The congress expresses firm confidence that under the Communist Party's leadership the Soviet people will achieve new successes in communist building and by strengthening our socialist motherland's might.

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ON THE REPORT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION. RESOLUTION OF THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS. UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED ON 1 MARCH 1986

FM071427 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 86 [signed to press 11 Mar 86]
p 170

[Text] To ratify the report of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.

ON THE STATUTE ON THE CPSU CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION. RESOLUTION OF THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS. UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED ON 1 MARCH 1986

FM071303 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 86 [signed to press 11 Mar 86]
p 170

[Text] 1. To ratify the Statute on the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.

2. To instruct the CPSU Central Committee in conjunction with the CPSU Central Auditing Commission to elaborate, on the basis of this statute, the corresponding statute on the Auditing Commission of the republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party organizations.

THE STATUTE ON THE CPSU CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION

FM071537 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 86 [signed to press 11 Mar 86]
pp 170-171

[Text] 1. The CPSU Central Auditing Commission is elected by the CPSU Congress for the same term and by the same procedure as established for the election of the CPSU Central Committee.

The number of staff on the Central Auditing Commission is determined by the party congress.

2. The CPSU Central Auditing Commission submits, within the limits of its functions, a resolution on the activity of the central party organs to the CPSU congress and gives an account of its work to the congress.

3. The CPSU Central Auditing Commission reviews observance of established procedures, the work connected with the examination of letters, applications, and complaints from working people by central party organs, the correct execution of the party budget, including the payment, acceptance, and accounting of party member contributions, and also the financial and economic activities of CPSU Central Committee enterprises and institutions.

4. The CPSU Central Auditing Commission renders methodical [metodicheskaya] assistance to the auditing commissions of union republic communist parties and of kray and oblast party organizations.

5. Sessions of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission are convened no less than once every 6 months.

The Central Auditing Commission elects a bureau for the daily management of its work.

6. The question of withdrawing members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission from the staff of the commission is resolved at its session following the procedure stipulated by the CPSU Statutes.

7. Members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission attend party Central Committee plenums.

The chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission or, in his absence, the deputy chairman, attends sessions of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat.

8. In the performance of their duties, members of the Central Auditing Commission use all documents with bearing on the commission's activities, both received by the Central Auditing Commission directly and at the disposal of the central party organs.

9. The CPSU Central Auditing Commission comiles the corresponding acts in accordance with audit results. The organs, enterprises, and institutions under review examine these acts following the mandatory procedure and communicate to the Central Auditing Commission on the implementation of the observations and proposals contained in the acts.

10. The CPSU Central Auditing Commission performs its practical activities with the assistance of a small apparatus maintained by means from the party building. In necessary instances, it recruits specialists from among CPSU members to conduct auditing work.

ON LETTERS AND PETITIONS ADDRESSED TO THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS. RESOLUTION OF THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS. UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED ON 5 MARCH 1986

PM061020 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 86 [signed to press 11 Mar 86]
p 171

[Text] 1. To note the report from the Congress Secretariat on the work it has done to examine the letters and petitions addressed to the 27th CPSU Congress.

2. To instruct the CPSU Central Committee to complete the work of examining the letters and petitions addressed to the 27th CPSU Congress and to take the necessary measures to implement the requests, proposals, and remarks contained in citizens' appeals.

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INFORMATION REPORT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

LD061055 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 86 [signed to press 11 Mar 86]
p 172

[Text] A plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, elected by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was held on March 6, 1986.

The plenum unanimously elected Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum elected the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee of the following composition:

Members of the Political Bureau—Mikhail Gorbachev, Geydar Aliyev, Vitaliy Vorotnikov, Andrey Gromyko, Lev Zaykov, Dirmukhamed Kunayev, Yegor Ligachev, Nikolay Ryzhkov, Mikhail Solomentsev, Viktor Chebrikov, Eduard Shevardnadze, and Vladimir Shcherbitskiy.

Alternate members of the Political Bureau—Petr Demichev, Vladimir Dolgikh, Boris Yeltsin, Nikolay Slyunkov, Sergey Sokolov, Yuriy Solovyev, and Nikolay Talyzin.

The following were elected secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee: Mikhail Gorbachev—general secretary, Aleksandra Biryukova, Anatoliy Dobrynin, Vladimir Dolgikh, Lev Zaykov, Mikhail Zimyanin, Yegor Ligachev, Vadim Medvedev, Viktor Nikonov, Georgiy Razumovskiy, and Aleksandr Yakovlev.

The plenum endorsed Mikhail Solomentsev as chairman of the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee.

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SPEECH BY COMRADE M.S. GORBACHEV AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONGRESS

LD061119 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 86 [signed to press 11 Mar 86]
pp 172-176

[Capitalized passages published in boldface in original]

[Text] Dear comrades!

The 27th congress is concluding its work.

It is up to history to objectively assess its significance. One can say today already, however, that the Congress took place in an atmosphere of party principle and unity, exactingness and Bolshevik truth, open exposure of shortcomings and omissions, and deep analysis of the internal and external conditions governing the development of our society. It set a high moral and spiritual tone for the work of the party and the life of the country as a whole. [APPLAUSE]

Delegates speaking from this rostrum posed problems with frankness, pointedly bringing to light that which is impeding our common cause and dragging us backward. There was no lack of critical judgments made about the work of all party levels and state and economic organizations, both central and local. Essentially, there is no sphere of our life that has escaped critical analysis. All this, comrades, is in the spirit of the best party traditions, in the spirit of Bolshevism. [APPLAUSE]

More than 60 years ago, ending the discussion on the political report of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) at the 11th Congress, Vladimir Ilich expressed a thought of fundamental importance: All revolutionary parties that have perished up till now have perished because they became conceited, were unable to see where their strength lay, and were afraid to speak of their weaknesses. We will not perish, however, because we are not afraid to speak of our weaknesses, and we will learn to overcome them. [APPLAUSE] It is precisely in this way, we have acted in the Leninist way at our Congress, and it is precisely in this way that we will also continue to act. [APPLAUSE]

The congress answered the fundamental questions that life has set before the party and society and has equipped every Communist, every Soviet person, with

a clear vision of the forthcoming tasks. It showed how correctly we acted in putting forward at the April plenum the concept of socioeconomic acceleration. The idea of acceleration permeated all our pre-congress activity. It has been at the congress' focus of attention and was embodied in the Central Committee's Political Report, in the new edition of the party program, in the amendments to its statutes, and in the basic guidelines for the country's economic and social development in the 12th 5-Year Plan and up to the year 2000. These documents have been entirely supported and approved by the congress delegates. [APPLAUSE]

The general line of the party's internal and foreign policy, which was adopted and confirmed--a line toward the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and the consolidation of peace on earth--is the chief political result of the 27th CPSU Congress. [APPLAUSE] From now on it will be a law of life for the party, for every one of its organizations, and a guide to action for all Communists and working people. [APPLAUSE]

We understand how great a responsibility the CPSU is taking upon itself toward history, what an enormous burden it is taking on by putting forward the strategy of acceleration. We are convinced, however, of the pressing need for precisely such a strategy. [APPLAUSE] We are convinced that it is realistic. Relying on the inexhaustible potential and advantages of socialism and on the living creativity of the people, we will be able to carry out everything we have planned. [APPLAUSE]

ACHIEVING THE ACCELERATION OF THE COUNTRY'S SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MEANS perfecting the economic system of socialism to provide new powerful stimuli for an increase in the forces of production and for scientific and technical progress and to put into action the enormous reserves of our national economy.

ACHIEVING ACCELERATION MEANS closely linking an increase in the prosperity of the working people with the efficiency of work and combining all-around concern about the person with the consistent realization of the principle of social justice to ensure the implementation of an active and strong social policy.

ACHIEVING ACCELERATION MEANS deepening democracy, persistently developing socialist self-government by the people and expanding the publicity given to the life of the party and people to open up scope for initiative and independent activity for every working person and every collective.

ACHIEVING ACCELERATION MEANS more closely linking ideological and organizational work with the real problems of life, getting rid of empty words and preaching, and increasing responsibility for one's job to bring it closer to the person and orient things toward overcoming difficulties and finding practical solutions to the tasks facing us. [APPLAUSE]

All this, comrades, we can and must do. [APPLAUSE]

The CPSU enters the post-congress period more organized, united and militant with thought-out long-term policy. It is full of resolve to act purposefully,

aware of the whole complexity, scale, and newness of the tasks facing it without fearing difficulties or obstacles.

We are faced with bringing home to every Soviet person the essence and spirit of the Congress decisions, and not only with explaining its ideas of principle but also with the practical organization of work in accordance with today's requirements.

At our Congress, and in the pre-congress period, very many interesting proposals were made, and quite a few profound thoughts were expressed. These must be considered attentively, and everything that is valuable and sensible must be carried out. [APPLAUSE]

The most important thing now is to turn the energy of intentions into the energy concrete actions. [APPLAUSE] Vasiliy Yakovlevich Gorin, chairman of a Belgorod collective farm and a delegate at our congress, spoke well of this: "Throughout the country, in every labor collective, a difficult, but we are sure irreversible process of renewal and restructuring is going on. It is passing through the hearts and minds of Soviet people and demands that each one give fully of him or herself, above all at work."

Yes, comrades, acceleration and radical transformations in all spheres of life are not just a slogan, but the course which the party will follow firmly and unswervingly. [APPLAUSE]

Many delegates have noted that departmentalism, regionalism, paper shuffling, and other bureaucratic impediments act as serious obstacles on the path of the new and progressive. I want to assure you, comrades, that the Central Committee will resolutely remove all obstacles to the acceleration of social and economic progress, will strengthen discipline and order, and will create the organizational, moral, and material prerequisites for maximum development of creativity, daring searches, and socialist enterprise. [APPLAUSE] I am sure that this will find the broad and active support of the entire party and all the working people. [PROLONGED APPLAUSE]

Organizers of work for fulfilling the congress directives, party committees from top to bottom, the style that is now required is putting things in concrete terms, efficiency, consistency, unity of words and deeds, selection of the most effective ways and means, thorough taking into consideration of people's views and skillful coordination of activities of all social forces.

It is necessary to completely overcome ineptness, formalism, indifference, the habit to smother vital essence in void and endless idle speeches that miss the point, and attempts to just play along with the reorganization.

One of the main conclusions of the congress is that all party committees should act as genuine bodies of political leadership. [APPLAUSE] In the final reckoning, the success of our entire struggle for the implementation of the general line of the 27th CPSU Congress will be determined by the conscious participation of the broadest popular masses in the communist construction. Everything depends on us, comrades. [APPLAUSE] The time has come for energetic and united action. The party calls on every Communist, every Soviet

man to join in actively in the great work of realizing our plans, perfecting Soviet society and renovating our own Soviet home. [APPLAUSE]

Comrades, the congress has once again convincingly demonstrated the inseparability of socialism and peace, and of peace and creation. Socialism would not be fulfilling its historic mission were it not to head the struggle for delivering mankind from the burden of anxiety about war and violence. The main purpose of Soviet policy is a secure and just peace for all peoples. [APPLAUSE] We view the struggle against war and military preparations, and against the preaching of hatred and violence as an inseparable part of democratization of all international relations and genuine improvement of the world's political climate. [APPLAUSE]

The nuclear threat has at one stroke made states equal in one respect. In a great war, no one can sit on the sidelines or warm their hands over another's misfortune. Equal security is the dominant imperative of the time. [APPLAUSE] Also, guaranteeing that equal security is increasingly becoming a political task that can be resolved by political means alone. It is time to underpin the relations between states with a foundation which is more stable than weapons. We see no other alternative, nor do we seek one. [APPLAUSE]

Unfortunately, however, there are those in the international community who still aspire to a special security suited to them alone. The frame of mind in Washington bears witness to this. As before, calls for being strong, which continue to be regarded as the most convincing argument of world policy, are in vogue there. It seems as though some people are simply afraid of the opportunities that have arisen for a serious, long-term thaw in Soviet-U.S. relations and in the international situation as a whole.

This is not the first time we have confronted such a situation. The militarist and aggressive forces would, of course, currently prefer to freeze and perpetuate confrontation. But what are we supposed to do, comrades? Slam the door? It is not excluded that this is exactly what they are urging us to do.

We are very well aware, however, of our responsibility for the fate of the country and the fate of the world. We therefore have no intention of playing into the hands of those who would wish to compel mankind to learn to live with the nuclear threat and the arms race. [APPLAUSE]

Soviet foreign policy is oriented toward the search for mutual understanding, toward dialogue, and toward the assertion of peaceful coexistence as a universal norm in relations between states. We have both a clear realization of how to attain this and a concrete program of work for the sake of preserving and consolidating peace. [APPLAUSE]

The Soviet Union acts, and will continue to act, on the world stage in a way that is serious and open, active and honest. We intend to use persistence and initiative in seeking the elimination of nuclear weapons, a radical limiting of the arms race, and the building of international security that is reliable and equal for all states. A mandate for the preservation of peace and a curbing of the arms race rang out forcefully and passionately in the addresses

by delegates to our congress. The party will unswervingly follow this mandate. [PROLONGED APPLAUSE]

We appeal to the leaders of states with a different social system to take a responsible approach to what is today the key problem in world politics—that of war and peace.

The leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet State will do everything to ensure for our people the possibility of laboring in conditions of lasting peace and freedom. [PROLONGED APPLAUSE] As the congress has once again confirmed, our party, the Land of the Soviets have many allies, supporters, and partners abroad in the struggle for peace, freedom, and progress for mankind.

We are sincerely glad to see here the leaders of socialist countries. Permit me, on behalf of the congress, to express heartfelt indebtedness to the communist parties and peoples of those countries for their solidarity with the CPSU and the Soviet Union. [PROLONGED APPLAUSE]

This has also been a congress year for a number of fraternal parties of the socialist states. The problems and tasks which the very development of history sets for the ruling communist parties are very similar in many ways. And in meeting them, each one makes its own contribution to the common treasure house of the combined experience of world socialism. I wish you success, dear friends! [PROLONGED APPLAUSE]

The CPSU is grateful for the warm words said about it by the representatives of the communist, revolutionary-democratic, socialist and social-democratic parties, and the democratic, liberation, and antiwar forces and movements. We highly appraise their understanding and support for the idea advanced by the congress for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security and for the plan for the liquidation of nuclear weapons before the end of the present century. The CPSU is convinced that they meet the true interests of all peoples and all countries—all mankind. [PROLONGED APPLAUSE]

Comrades! Our congress has shown that at the present crucial stage of social development Lenin's party is equal to the historic tasks. [APPLAUSE] From this rostrum, on behalf of the delegates representing all our party, I would like to say that we Communists hold dear the trust of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia—all Soviet people. [APPLAUSE] To us, the interests of the people, the fatherland, socialism, and peace are paramount. [APPLAUSE] We will spare neither effort nor energy to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. [STORMY, PROLONGED APPLAUSE. ALL STAND.]

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